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The

Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. VI.

JULY, 1900.

No. 3.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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STORMONT & JACKSON,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Catholic University Bulletin.

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THE COLLEGE TEACHER.¹

In this second Conference we meet one another again to consider in greater detail the demands of collegiate instruction, to weigh the relative importance of studies to be followed, to discuss methods of teaching, so that matter and method may combine in furnishing that education which will best fit our students to enter successfully the field of life and bear themselves creditably as men and Christians. But while we consider the improvement of our school methods, and a more careful grouping of studies, it is proper that we should not lose sight of the most important element in our educational work—the teacher. It is trite to say, and yet it cannot be emphasized too strongly, that the teacher makes the school; in fact, the teacher is the school. The best methods are but accessories, the most elegant buildings are but shelters, the most finely equipped laboratories are but tool rooms; language itself is but an instrument of expression—the storing strength, the radiating light, the motive power are centered in the teacher. The first requisite for success in school or college is a corps of teachers, well trained and qualified to teach, so that the students may see in each a true master.

The whole question of our collegiate life may be said to hinge upon the college teacher. His vocation to the work, his ability, his preparation, devotedness, earnestness in improving himself—all these are vital elements in any teacher, but par-

¹ Discourse delivered at the second annual meeting of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, April 18, 1900.

ticularly in the one consecrated to the secondary instruction. In the presence of so many able teachers, men of marked ability, whose actual vocation presupposes a very special preparation, I might be excused from pleading the cause of the teacher. On the other hand, the peculiar conditions of the youthful mind as it passes from the preparatory school training to the broader fields of collegiate opportunities; the scholarship necessary to lead up to the heights of classical and scientific learning, the familiarity with the historical relations existing between the past and the present of collegiate education, the intimate acquaintance henceforth necessary, with the beginnings of the principal literatures, the kind of knowledge needed to unfold in a healthy manner the mind and heart of our beloved students, the sense that the college is now, as ever, a training ground for the grave duties of life—all these reasons, and many more, urge us to dwell a little while on the theme of the collegiate teacher, if only to refresh our own minds and hearts in considerations that have not waited for us to press themselves on the attention of Catholic teachers.

The call and the choice of a man to the office of teacher do not of themselves ensure his success. The best dispositions in the world, even that high symbol, the religious habit, are not guarantees of success in teaching. The teacher must possess sufficient knowledge; still more, he must possess the power of imparting that knowledge. There must be matter and method, or, better still, instruction and personality. Alcuin, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas had vocations acknowledged by all; but they had also knowledge, and this knowledge they loved intensely, and lived only to scatter it broadcast in the lives of their fellows. They had explored all the known realms of thought and were competent guides for the provinces of learning through which they were to lead. Sunshine, and not shadow; hope, and not despair; encouragement, helpfulness, instruction, skill came in abundance to their pupils. God gave them vocation; but by hard and persistent study, in the spirit of that vocation, they acquired the knowledge which they taught to others, so that to have sat at their feet became the highest and surest token of intellectual nobility.

Knowledge does not come by intuition, nor does a vocation to the higher life of the Spirit of itself imply aptness to teach in college. A life imbued with aspirations to spiritual perfection is indeed a suitable background for the development of knowledge. For one who wishes, for the common good, to exhaust the natural abilities with which God has gifted him, it is also a permanent inspiration. Acquired knowledge is a most essential requisite for the teacher, and this can only come through special training, which in turn demands years of preparation that are indeed amply repaid by results as they appear in a conscientious and enlightened mankind.

To lose no time, let us say that in the college-world of to-day there is a general and just demand for teachers trained according to the methods and temper of the University. As a matter of fact the number of teachers thus trained is constantly increasing. Usually they are doctors of philosophy; sometimes they are specialists constantly working upward to higher grades of erudition. Students are thus assured of getting the actual best; the university which gave these teachers their degrees follows them with interest, and is morally certain that the students who may be sent up to her from college are prepared according to the ideals of the university itself. To-day the teacher who has only the preparation of a collegiate course, or who feels that as a college graduate he is entitled to take up the tasks of a college teacher, will find himself everywhere handicapped by comparison with the work of men who have had the advantage of a special university instruction for the teacher's chair. As now the great majority of our Catholic college graduates enter the learned professions, they have a moral right, on the part of the teachers, to the best in educational progress enjoyed by their fellow-men in the same callings, in order that they may be fitted to take up professional studies on an equal level, and enter the arena of life with equal academic advantages. The general advance in the demand for specially trained teachers in elementary and preparatory schools, compels the conclusion that every college teacher should be equipped with the erudition, practical skill, and powers of self-help that ordinarily are bestowed only by the men who are the highest in their

special sciences, and who from time immemorial have usually been found in the chairs of the university.

I am not unmindful of the debt of gratitude we owe to those college teachers of the past, the self-sacrificing, simple-minded, scholarly men who trained whole generations without the advantages of modern methods, or the opportunities of university preparation; who gave up their lives in poorly equipped schools and colleges, working as it were, between dawn and daylight, the pioneers and engineers of the modern scholastic world. They did splendid work in educating; they laid the foundations of our recent successes; they sent forth men of heart who yet lead in Church and State. Their names in many instances are known only to God, but they had a genuine love for learning coupled with sincere devotion to the interests of religion. They lived not for the praises of men, but to do their plain duty. A holy consecration has fallen upon their labors. Though they were men for the times in which they lived, they would be the first to recognize the new conditions of Catholic pedagogy, and to confess that if we would maintain our historic reputation we must be well equipped along all approved modern lines, in order to meet the just demands of a Catholic people constantly progressing in comfort and culture.

The age is constantly clamoring for ideals, and we seek the ideal in the teacher, mindful that the reality will fall far short of what the work of teaching demands.

The ideal teacher is one who has vocation to teach, and this implies aptitude. Teachers, like poets, may surely be said to be born and not made. They have a mission to teach—they are sent with a message to intellect and heart. They are the bearers of truths that are to fructify in the lives of men. Their duty is to preserve and embellish life, not to repress or extinguish it. Fitted to teach by a thorough mastery of the science they love, their one desire should be to have others love it. The teacher is not merely a listener to lessons learned by rote; he is not a slave to the text-book as a finality in instruction; he is also a developer of intellect as well as character, a spur to the student's activity, an awakening, a light-bearer, a guide; he is one to teach the mind how to

recognize and to use its faculties ; he is one capable of crediting to the student what he has taught him to find. The teacher is one who forces us to realize the possessions hidden within us, showing how to make use of them. He must be on fire himself, if he would stir up a consuming fire in the lives of others.

Then, too, the teacher himself should be forever a scholar, for the sake of his youthful disciples, as well as for his own enjoyment. The finished mechanic must know every part of his machinery, the models to be followed in its creation, the use of all needed or helpful tools, so that his work may be regarded as the product of a master. We often realize the absence of art-skill in the work done by an amateur with a pencil, brush, chisel, or tool. We see a gross and unartistic product, and we turn from it with pity, regret, perhaps disgust. We sit, however, for hours before a master's canvas, finding new beauties each moment. No less than the master-mechanic or the perfect artist, the college teacher should stand for system, time, method, labor, and pains in education. He ought to be always the finished product of other men in his own line, who while clinging to the best that the experience of the past furnishes, yet have eyes and hearts ever open to the gains and advances of each succeeding generation.

The first requisite for a college teacher should be a thorough modern and critical knowledge of the subjects to be taught. If, for example, he be a teacher of languages, ancient or modern, he ought to possess more than the ability to translate an author or to construe a text grammatically—he ought to have an intimate acquaintance with the subject-matter taught. Let the same stand for the natural sciences, philosophy, or literature. One of the first requisites of a good teacher, then, is accurate scholarship. But to-day any scholarship worthy of the name implies some acquaintance with the science of education, readiness to learn from the experience of others, to profit by their successes or failures. In order to develop this full and accurate scholarship nothing should be left undone to prepare the teacher thoroughly for his great work. Teachers of recognized abilities in touch with the best methods of teaching and familiar with the accepted results of

scientific research, each in his own department, should be his masters.

A second requisite is ability to impart knowledge—otherwise the accurate scholarship is like a mine of precious metal, hidden in the bowels of the earth. It is trite to say that a man may be very learned, yet a very indifferent teacher. Aptness for teaching implies the power of awakening interest. If there be no personal interest, on the part of the disciple, the seed of learning will be like that thrown upon land through which no plow has passed. Hence, the teacher-candidate should be well tested beforehand; he ought not to be allowed to experiment, at the expense of the student.

After all, it was not mere knowledge, nor perfections of method that made the great teachers. It was their personality, in which was symbolized love for knowledge and ability to impart it. It was the fact that realizing the dignity and nobility of their calling they had thoroughly possessed the truth for themselves and were anxious that the whole world should know it in its fullness and beauty. It is personality that educates. Personality is the very soul of the teacher. It is a subtle influence, like the joy or sorrow that are communicated from face to face, from heart to heart. From the soul of such a teacher, there shines a living flame that enters into us, vivifies, fashions, and transforms us into one with him. Even as the disciples at Emmaus found their hearts burn as Christ spoke, so, in a measure, should the student feel the influence of the true teacher. We never forget that it is the living voice one loves to hear, the living hand one loves to touch; the master who has really lived for us is the one teacher we never cease to love. Ability, willingness, are not enough. The successful teacher must have enthusiasm. There must be, in himself, a love for his work, a passion, as it were, to have all who come in contact with him love his work as well as he loves it himself. This enthusiasm must be permanent, for when it dies out in a teacher, his usefulness is at an end; it is time for retirement. Such an enthusiasm must have its roots in a passionate love for the truth confided to us, for only truth can stimulate this extraordinary communicative passion of action which we call enthusiasm.

"This enthusiasm," said Dr. Schaepman, the eloquent Dutch orator, in the Catholic Congress at Brussels (1894), "is a peculiar state of the soul which impels man to more than ordinary activity and which is accompanied by a joy whose intensity springs from the very passion of doing. Even when intermittent, such enthusiasm can create great things, but when it passes into habit, it is the true well-spring of those forceful natures who accomplish marvels for the cause of God and humanity."

As Francis Bacon says, in his *Essay on Truth*, "Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the lovemaking or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature." Again he tells us that "certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

We cannot insist sufficiently upon the importance of the spirit of religion in our teacher, that he may be a fitting instrument in the work of Christian education. He should be a religious man, thoroughly impregnated with correct principles of Christianity, a man of example as well as precept, a man of faith, a man of virtuous life. Example is needed even more for youth than for childhood. He should be thoroughly grounded not only in the habits of religious conduct, but also in the great basic principles of religion. The war is now between the natural and the supernatural, between paganism and Christianity. This world, even in the sense condemned by Jesus Christ, is being regarded as all sufficient. Too often commercialism rather than conscience rules. Men are growing to care very little for God, judgment, immortality,—yet these are the eternal principles which underlie Christianity. The Christian teacher must, therefore, not only know but believe, not only believe in the principles of his religion, but live accordingly if he would bring out the native religious tendencies in students. He must be reverent of God and holy things, an habitually devout man, if he would lead pupils to admire and follow the life inculcated by the Gospel. The teacher who has ceased

to recognize the God of Christian revelation and the traditional principles of the Christian religion, cannot be accepted as the ideal teacher of Christian youth. The teacher's office is *per se* endowed with sanctity. It is a ministry of God exercised in the class-room. Justinian calls even the legal profession a priesthood of truth, inasmuch as laws rest on justice and equity and inculcate the same. For that matter, all mankind has recognized that there is no social calling more sacred than that of moulding souls to higher and better things.

The teacher enters upon his task with that measure of influence and power which come to him from his age, his acquirements, his years of preparation, his knowledge, all of which entitle him to respect. To this there correspond on the part of the pupil an absolute devotedness to truth, an unbounded confidence in the teacher, and an ardent desire for knowledge. Needless to say that in return for this absolute devotion the teacher should have a well-developed mind, that a personal magnetism should be visible in his relations with his students, that his own life should express and confirm the morality which he teaches,—in a word, that he should be a living influence, a speaking inspiration, an ingenious helpfulness to all who come in contact with him. The true teacher ought never to part from a pupil without feeling that the best in his life has gone out from him and has entered the heart of another. It was this that made Plato the worthy disciple of Socrates, that gave St. John the insight into the Divine Master's heart, that creates in every age historians, poets, philosophers. It is the distinctive individual element in the teacher more than any system that in all ages of scholarship has made the master live in his pupil. As Newman so well says: "An academical system without the personal influence of teachers upon pupils is an Arctic winter. It will create an icebound, petrified, cast-iron university, and nothing else. Influence precedes law, personality precedes system. With influence there is life, without there is none." The general history of education shows us clearly that great teachers, coming as they did from distant countries to centers of learning, depended not on kings and great men for their support, but on the enthusiasm they created.

Had all our college teachers enthusiasm, ability to produce, success in development, power to instill love for study, we would not have to deplore so many half finished, half educated men, who have really wasted valuable years, and yet among whom you find some who think an A. B. degree entitles them to the everlasting gratitude of the world of scholarship. They will always be at a disadvantage, in the outside and broader world, in which they aspire to posts of honor and emolument, and for which they think they have been fully prepared. They had every right to expect that preparation; and when it has not been imparted, the whole system of their training is made to bear the blame, while the agents and not the system are responsible.

The teacher has always been in honor among men. All nations, all peoples, at all times have loved and respected him. What a chapter might be written on the teachers who have influenced mankind, from Nineveh to Jerusalem, from Athens to Rome, from Iona to St. Gall, from Paris to Oxford, from Leipsic to Louvain. From academic groves to synagogues, from cathedral schools to monasteries, and universities and colleges, there is a long unbroken line of philosophers, doctors, monks and nuns, men of religious communities and members of the diocesan clergy, all teachers who have contributed to the education of mankind. They are indeed the "Immortals," belonging to no one race, no one country, but kinsmen of all in the kingdom of intellect and truth. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, stand even now in the streets of Athens to teach mankind their ideas of philosophy. Galen, Archimedes, Euclid still give luster to the Alexandrine Museum; Pantaenus, Clement and Origen still appear in the School of St. Mark. The great Cappadocians transferred to Christianity the noble inheritance which they received from the City of the Violet Crown. Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, are the central figures of the University of Paris, fit successors of Augustine, Columbanus, Benedict, Alcuin and Bernard. After the Reformation, St. Cajetan, founder of the Theatines; St. Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, and Blessed de la Salle keep alive the traditions of that teaching power by which the world has preserved its civilization. Nor can

we overlook the superior work done for education in the fifteenth century by the Brothers of the Common Life in the Netherlands. Under the ægis of Christianity men and women in every age have consecrated their lives in the classroom for the education of youth. The story of university, college and school is generally the story of an individual teacher founding the institution and of a corps of teachers taking up with enthusiasm the work begun by one in faith and hope and charity. Many such have an enduring niche in the world's great Hall of Fame—an Aquinas, a Copernicus, a Bernard of Chartres, a Canisius, a Newton, a Fénelon, a La Place, an Arnold, a Humboldt, an Agassiz, a Secchi, a Pasteur, an Edison, these and their similars were teachers with living messages to humanity; they have burned these lessons deep into the daily life of some portion of mankind. Like Socrates, every one of them would rather write upon the hearts of living men than upon the skins of dead sheep.

Great teachers never die; their influence lasts forever; their very names are an inspiration. The annals of the universities that stand for the scholarship of the world are bright with the names of the teachers whose influence made students flock from all quarters. They knew men's nature, they understood child-character, as well as they knew their lexicons. They were not those pedants of whom Carlyle writes: "Who could give no kindling, because in their own inward man there is no live coal, but all is burned out to a dead grammatical cinder." The teacher has revolutionized the world with the mission of truth, he has educated mankind.

Yet we cannot be blind to the fact that not all teachers reach to this ideal. Certain results lead us to realize that our actual collegiate instruction has defects. To recognize and correct them is the reason for this gathering.

You are all aware of the constant references of the Presidents of many of our best universities to the deficiencies of collegiate and preparatory training. Something, therefore, must be wrong; and we do not wholly err in thinking that often these deficiencies may be traced to inefficient, unprepared, unscholarly teachers, whose life in the class room is an offence

¹ "Sartor Resartus," pp. 92-93.

and a burden, not an inspiration; men without enthusiasm, personality or fitness; men out of place, a stumbling-block to education; men remembered by students only to be pitied or despised. There is nothing sadder or more depressing than an incompetent teacher, especially when he is a man who, if placed in a position suitable to his gifts, might render admirable service. Right here, however, it may be well to say that often enough the blame laid upon teachers as incompetent should be visited upon the student who frequently pursues in an aimless, half-hearted way, courses for which he has no taste, when he is sent to college for social reasons or kept there against his will.

There is sometimes a danger that even well-trained teachers may be exposed to lack of opportunity for subsequent development. The training that prepares for admission to the teacher's office is, after all, but the first stage in this noble career. There must be a constant anxiety in the teacher to improve himself, to make himself daily more familiar with the progress of his science. There is danger in over-crowding the teacher with class-work. The cry comes more and more steadily from the capable ones that there is too little opportunity for private study and self-improvement, because of the multiplicity and diversity of tasks placed upon the teacher. For instance, he is obliged to handle a number of classes or grades in the same subject. This is not so bad in itself, except inasmuch as it absorbs the teacher's time and leaves him few spare hours for study. But this difficulty is aggravated when the same teacher is obliged to handle several different subjects, usually uncorrelated. We can easily recall good teachers, who were obliged in the same week, and sometimes in the same day, to teach Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, not to speak of other absorbing and time-robbing cares. The time spent in correcting themes, in surveillance, or in doing special work outside his class proper, may advance the general welfare of the college,—but it is depressing, and, to a certain extent, damaging to the teacher's ability to do that thorough work the student has a right to expect.

In our colleges teachers are often changed from one subject to another, as though the very fact of belonging to a faculty

enabled them to give instruction in any science. Our college authorities should see to it that the teacher be, to some extent, a specialist. He need not be a specialist after the type of the university professor. He does need to possess a more than ordinary acquaintance with the history and actual status of the science which he assumes to teach, he ought to be familiar with the relations that obtain between elementary, undergraduate and graduate instruction in that particular science, and to have a working knowledge of the methods by which research work is pursued, as well as ability to bring the student in regard, both to mental development and to positive knowledge, just to the point where he is ready for the advanced work of the university. If such specialization be accepted as a requisite in every good college teacher, and it seems to me there can be no question about it, the teaching of any one science is enough for any one man. Therefore, the college teacher ought to be allowed, nay, ought to be encouraged to perfect himself after he has entered on his allotted work. If this be neglected, a merited promotion to anything higher, with any probability of successful result, is out of the question. He will become a man of routine, and with an accepted routine life all enthusiasm, all progress must die.

It is too true that the drudgery of the class-room is apt to blot out enthusiasm. From *rosa* to *fecerim* is not a pleasant journey, and the oil burned in correcting themes of embryo-Latinists or expressionless compositions is apt to bring such fatigue, mental and physical, as stifles enthusiasm, so little tangible compensation is there for conscientious toil. Yet some one must drudge that Jack may make his class. Nevertheless, system and method often minimize the drudgery, and the dulllest matter may be made interesting by a teacher who has the spirit of his vocation.

Let the teacher be provided with the acknowledged means of improving himself. You cannot make bricks without straw; neither can a teacher improve himself without access to the thoughts of men who have added and are daily adding to the science of which he is a teacher. Our Catholic teachers should have at hand all works that contain the ancient traditions of

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the Church on the work of teaching. She is the oldest teaching force in our civilization. She has had the constant presence of the Holy Ghost with her, to guarantee her public office of teacher of divine truth. Her teaching is the most continuous, self-identical, and cosmopolitan that the world has yet seen. Her teaching traditions are venerable and still capable of inspiring future generations with the love of all knowledge. One may see of her as was said of Solomon: "Magnifice enim tractabat sapientiam."

There should be an intense devotion to Christianity as the perfection not only of religious, but of all social and political endeavor. Christianity is essentially a teaching,—a revealed teaching, it is true,—yet it carries with it a multitude of useful materials assimilated from Greek and Roman culture. It has idealized all human thought and human learning, as Christ Himself has idealized our human nature by assuming it to Himself and cleansing and perfecting it. So, in a measure, did the Church, in her own way, take what was good in paganism and adopt it as her own.

Pedagogics are not of recent discovery. The Church has never neglected to give special training to the teacher to whom youth has been confided. At all times, from the pens of ecclesiastical teachers works have appeared treating of the instruction of those called to government, thus showing her desire to instill correct principles in the leaders of the people. From Cassiodorius and the Irish Sedulius, the famous teacher at Liège and Pavia,* down to the *De Regimine Principum* of Perrault, and the *De Magistro* of St. Thomas, she has been extremely interested in the theory of instruction as well as in its practice. The famous Benedictine Mabillon, writing on monastic studies, shows that the spirit of Columbanus and Benedict still actuated the preparation for monastic teaching, while the great Angel of Schools, in the just-mentioned treatise, shows the true principles that underlie all teaching and are the source of the teacher's authority and responsibility. The great teaching orders of the Church, so well represented at this Conference, have, in their annals, a rich mine of pedagogic wealth, with which all Catholic teachers should be familiar. Indeed, from the early days of

the Monks of the West, teaching has been a prominent feature of religious orders, and the traditions of each order are the combined experience of many experienced and holy men, through the centuries. The education of religious has also been an object of deepest concern to the Church, which has always looked upon the great orders as powerful agents in the work of teaching. Reference need be made here to but one example, that of Cardinal von Fürstenberg, Prince Bishop of Münster, who at the end of the last century issued a very remarkable document containing directions for the academic formation of the religious orders in his diocese. Benedictine, Augustinian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit annals and codes of discipline bear witness to the constant formation of numerous members to the highest ideals of the teaching office. Their rules often contain the best pedagogic principles of education, and challenge even to-day the admiration of all fair-minded students of that science.

If there is any weakness in our teachers, we are confident it is not inherent, but is often due to external circumstances. If we may say here a word of criticism, it arises from our very desire for progress and perfection. We are never afraid to criticise nor to be criticised,—we learn as much from the conduct of the Church in her synods and councils. Constructive and kindly criticism is a step to improvement, a sign of progress. We have had tremendous disadvantages during the century just closing, especially in the English-speaking world, and it is to our credit that in spite of penal laws and social ostracism and without State aid, we have built up a magnificent educational system, which to-day is prepared to successfully compete with all others. But new conditions make new demands, and we should be satisfied with nothing short of the best in teaching equipment. Judging from conventions and magazine articles we are not alone in complaint and criticism.

A complaint is heard that sufficient attention is not given to our lay element as a teaching force. The Church has always recognized the splendid work done by laymen. Many of her apologists, at the very dawn of Christianity, were devoted, educated laymen. In our own day, they stand in the

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front rank and struggle for all the just demands of the Church. De Maistre in France, Donoso Cortes in Spain, De Rossi in Italy, Ambrose Philipps de Lisle and Frederick Lucas in England, Görres, Windhorst, Mallinckrodt and the two Reichenspergers in Germany, Deteux, Malou and Bernaart in Belgium, O'Connell in Ireland, gaining freedom from religious proscription for the Catholics of Great Britain, Brownson in America,—all were teachers of the people, defending in the public arena, before all nations, the best traditions of the Church. What would be left if their lives and works were blotted from the annals of nineteenth century Catholicism? The Church is not a caste, but a living, organic body—"A body," as St. Paul says, "compacted and fitly joined together." The noble office of teacher is ever open to the layman, who may justly wear in society the magisterial pallium, and take his place as a defender and illustrator of Catholic truths. There is now a great, well-educated body of Catholic laymen who seek and deserve a place in our educational work. The experience of the University, where the layman is associated with the ecclesiastic in trusteeship, in the administration and the faculties, as well as in the student body, may well encourage us in this respect. In all the universities established or controlled by the Church, laymen have ever been welcome, and have been among the most efficient and famous of her teachers.

The schoolmaster has always been the object of special favors and dignity. After the pastor he was the chief man of the parish, freed from taxation and military service. According to the laws of the General Assembly of France, in 1685, he was clothed with surplice, incensed in the Church, holding a place of honor above all the laity, even the aristocracy of the parish. One may read in the first volume of Janssen's "History of the German People" how great was the consideration paid him in the course of the fifteenth century. A most interesting chapter is that which tells of the honor paid to him among all nations. Lack of means has been our principal excuse in not associating laymen with us, but now that new interests develop generosity, we may hope soon to see our colleges utilize the learning of our laymen as teachers with whom we shall be proud to be associated.

I must not fail, therefore, to enter a plea for the Catholic layman as a teacher in our colleges. While the great majority of our teachers are ecclesiastics, there is a growing element of educated Catholic laymen whose ambition and taste lead them towards the teacher's desk. Graduates of our colleges, trained in normal school and university, they rightly hope to find opportunities to teach in our colleges. They are prepared to consecrate their lives to the teacher's vocation. In them, are elements of strength and assurance of success. We should utilize their talents, their experience, and their devotedness. There is in them a sympathy for youth, a keen understanding of the conditions of student life, a closer acquaintanceship with its real sentiments and dispositions. The lay element in the management of our colleges, and in our teaching corps, adds strength to our management and gives confidence to the business elements of our communities. It also contributes to more clearly define the fact that our colleges are intended not merely as preparatory schools to seminaries, but also as fitting schools for the professions and ordinary demands of secular life. In all discussions on the teacher and the work of teaching, we cannot allow ourselves to overlook the splendid work done by our nuns and our Catholic women in every age. The demand for collegiate instruction for Catholic women has been heard on many sides in our own country, and the good nuns of Notre Dame of Namur, who follow the instructions of Blessed Peter Fovier, stand ready to consecrate themselves to the work. Trinity College rises in our Capital to show the world the sympathy of the Church with the higher education of women under the guidance and inspiration of religion.

It is very evident that there is a strong disposition against the Catholic system. We are accused of unwillingness to seek improvement in our methods. Methods, after all, are only secondary, yet our system, I am sure, stands ready to follow the best. If it ask that these methods prove themselves the best, it is not an indication of hostility to improvement. There is so much of acknowledged "faddism" and experimentalism in modern methods of education that we are perfectly justified in the conservatism which demands a proof by results. Our duty is to educate, to send out young men

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who may take place among the best, training not only mind and hand, but heart and soul as well ; give to society good men, good scholars, who bear about in their hearts a conscience for use in the home, in business, in professional and political life. If this be done, what matters the method? Method to the true teacher is often so much dry wood ; yet method, the best method for results, is to be sought after. We all know from our own experience that if the teacher were one who taught us scholarship, we cared little about the mere surroundings.

To you, teachers of the collegiate system of our American Catholic Church, I would give a strong word of encouragement. Your vocation is a high and noble one. Your mission is that of truth clearly seen, principles of life certainly known, the end and aim of life beyond all wavering opinion. Your views of education are very positively defined. You are not subjected to the whims and caprices of much of what is called pedagogy ; you are not experimentalists in the purposes of education—though you are willing and free to try the best in all new methods. You are seekers after knowledge, not for knowledge's sake merely, but that it may lead you more surely to God. The Catholic whose life is consecrated to education should be the best teacher. His vocation demands the best equipment in human knowledge, in the things of science as well as in the things of religion. While I congratulate in you the successors of the great teachers who have illustrated Catholicism in the past, I know that you are not satisfied to sit idly in your chairs of teaching and waste time in chanting the glories of that past. You have the responsibility of the present and duty to the future. The Catholic college youth of our great country are looking to you for the education which will enable them to successfully compete for honors in every field of life. Look to it that you be faithful stewards of the great trust !

In this day of scientific preparation of teachers and of sharp competition between colleges for the student it behooves us as representatives of the Catholic Collegiate System to be in the front ranks, with a teaching equipment equal, if not superior, to all other systems. Commodious buildings, expen-

sive laboratories and well-equipped gymnasiums are desirable, but above all and before all let us have well-prepared teachers. Our educational system is now complete. From kindergarten to university we are ready in this country, as never before, to do perfect educational work. The Catholic University, with its Pontifical charter and its corps of scientifically trained men, stands ready to fit the teachers for the classrooms of school and college.

I know the spirit of the University, and I can say for it that it holds nothing dearer than its interest in the teachers of our collegiate system, religious and lay, regular and diocesan. Its greatest anxiety is to contribute the best training which talent and experience can furnish, in fully equipping the teachers of our schools for the work to which they have consecrated themselves. The University feels that the superstructure on which it has to build, the education of priests and laymen, is furnished by our Catholic Colleges; hence it is bound by the closest relationship and deepest interest to all the parts of our educational system. The University exists largely that the colleges may be made capable of doing the best work, and the college in turn must shape that work so as to prepare men for the University. A common Catholic faith binds University and College, a common purpose actuates both, a common responsibility falls upon both. United, we have nothing to fear; divided, Catholic education must suffer. We have vocation, ability, aptitude, enthusiasm. We stand for the best educational ideals; our guide is the Church of God, who confides to us the message which alone will save society, honor our manhood, ennoble our citizenship, make scholars worthy of truth, and teachers worthy of education. You represent many different systems of collegiate work, yet you are a unit as Catholics, devoted to the true principles of life, and to that education which finds its perfection in the development of the intellect, in unison with and in conformity to the will of God.

The Catholic Church has always tolerated difference of rites, languages and customs,—so, too, she is not blindly devoted to any one system of teaching. Unity of purpose or even of system does not destroy individual effort,—but there is a unity imposed by undeniable perfections of science, political com-

plexion of country and enlightened and just public opinion. Our different collegiate systems have had the experience of centuries in educational work. There is no desire in conferences such as this, to destroy their individuality, as there is no desire to have our houses exactly alike,—but there may be brought, into each, whatever there is of benefit in the others.

Our plea then for the teacher is that he shall be prepared for his work by university training, that the range of his teaching shall be narrowed as far as possible to the special work for which he has been prepared,—or at most that he shall not be burdened except by studies correlated with his special work,—that time and opportunities be given to him for study, that he be provided with all that is helpful to him in the line of self-perfection in his special studies. If this Conference have as one of its results a determination at whatever cost to place none but well-trained teachers in our college classes, I for one, am confident that we will have provided what is essential to a college worthy of the name.

THOMAS J. CONATY.

THE OFFICE OF THE PRIESTHOOD.¹

By the word "office" we understand the orderly and habitual exercise of a public duty. Office, therefore, is as old as mankind, is a primitive asset of our nature. To our first parents, while clothed with original justice, its exercise must have been holy, agreeable, and perfect. But in the state of fallen nature the concept of office grew steadily more dim and confused until, when ethnicism was in full flower, it had become almost totally obscure. This was not the least cause of the great human misery which reigned in the world when Jesus Christ came into it. How could it be otherwise? Office is the exercise of some public duty. Hence, the manner and spirit and scope of its exercise depend upon a true knowledge of man himself, his origin, his destiny, his history; upon the ideas of Creation, of the Godhead, of the moral order, of conduct and sanction, reward and punishment. All such ideas were, to say the least, very vague and uncertain in the world of paganism, apprehended as it were in a kind of twilight. Over all these concepts Christianity rose like a sun, and made them henceforth clear, distinct, fixed. Even the offices of the natural and social order,—parent, teacher, governor,—were henceforth transfigured in this new and steady light. Insensibly they absorbed something that invigorated and transformed them. The fire that a divine hand had lit in the heart of human society could not but diffuse a genial warmth; and Himself tells us that He came to make all things new,—the very thought of His apostle: *Instaurare omnia in Christo*.

But it is principally in the supernatural and revealed order that Christianity lent to office an unheard-of sanctity, raised it to a level immeasurably above what it had been in the past, made it capable of godlike tasks, and committed to it the cleansing of the soul, its uplifting from sin and despair and death, and its guidance into an eternity of peace and joy.

¹Discourse delivered at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, November 21, on the occasion of the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

With a novelty, at once sublime and thrilling, St. Paul manifests the apotheosis of office in the figure of the Church, the Ecclesia pre-existent in the mind of the Father from all eternity, spotless beyond power of expression, charged with the maternal duty of begetting all mankind to Christ Jesus, of nursing with the milk of doctrine and discipline all those newly born to the spiritual life. Nor is the Church thus conceived an abstraction,—she is as real as the State, she is the Heavenly Jerusalem,

Beata pacis visio
 Quae celsa de viventibus
 Saxis ad astra tolleris
 Sponsaeque ritu cingeris
 Mille Angelorum millibus.

She is the ideal and other-worldly state, the eternal Urbs, the final Civitas, ever growing, ever distending its limits, ever improving the culture of its citizens, until time shall be no more, and the mystery of creation shall return to the bosom of the Creator. In this congregation of the faithful some have so far progressed, that they find themselves at the end of their probation. For them the earthly day, with its toil and dust and uncertainties, the *status viae*, is over. They live transfigured now and blessed, in the higher mystical day of eternity. Others, less happy, but not less secure of their crown, expiate yet a time the imperfections of their souls. Still others,—the generations of earth and the present of whom we are,—work out with fear and trembling the problem of final happiness. To all these the Church is Mother,—her office is the serene and maternal office. In and through her whoever are children of God and heirs of heaven are born, nourished, confirmed, made perfect. The pains of travail, the joys of budding life, the doubts and sorrows of adolescence, the energies and high deeds of maturity, the symptoms of decay and collapse,—all these she knows by secular experience. The cycle of their recurrence is the cycle of her history. She stands forever among men, the venerable matron, both old and young, that the Shepherd of Hermas beheld on the very threshold of Christianity, selecting yet and polishing and inserting into the walls of the City Eternal those stones which the Father has chosen and foreordained.

In the present order and among the children of Adam, the sublime office of the Church is executed by her ministry, even as the majesty of the Roman people was located in their magistrates, or the social authority resides in those who hold it by commission. To speak, therefore, of the office of the priesthood is to speak of the office of the Church among men, since the priesthood is the acme of the sacred ministry, and is the usual channel by which the mission of the Church is made known to men, is accepted by them and is perpetuated through all the changing phenomena of time,—centuries, languages, states, cultures, ideas.

I. *The office of the priesthood is a public one*,—public in a sublime and astounding sense. No man, however great, ever stood for the human interests of all mankind. Let it be Cyrus or Alexander, or Cæsar or Napoleon, his sphere of responsibility was bounded by some limits of culture or language or power,—some portion of mankind escaped his solicitude. But the priest stands for all humanity. Once he lifts those anointed hands before the Almighty he is recognized as the intermediary, not of a tribe or a city or a state, but of all his kind. The old Athenian might perform his costly liturgies,—they were done but once. The priest offers to God forever the holiest and rarest of public services, the incense of prayer and the ransom of sacrifice. The world is girdled with holy altars, at whose edges stands an army of priests, chosen for the unbloody but saving immolation of the Lamb. And between them all, and between them and the Lamb, there is a divine solidarity of office. Whatever they may be worth as men, whatever be the insignia of rank and authority, they are all public agents of the Savior, constituted for all men, for all their needs and hopes; constituted forever in sight of all men, leaders like Moses, priests like Aaron, prophets like David,—nay, themselves daily, in one sublime hour, the symbols and the vicars of Christ in His Passion, Death, and Resurrection. Into that priestly ear is poured forever the melancholy burden of sorrow, the burden of Tyre and Sidon and the islands of the sea. That priestly heart must daily minister counsel and sympathy and consolation. Of the humblest and youngest of these were the incredible words said: *Sacerdos alter Christus*. The least

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among these may truly feel and say with the Apostle and be believed of God: *Instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. Over all these the Ecclesia watches with intense anxiety, for in them she touches human society; they are her instruments, and according to their temper and their responsiveness she fulfills the office of Spouse, Mother, Nurse, Guardian. Are they conscious that the altar of God is not a table of traffic such as Christ overthrew in His own Temple? ¹ Are they aware that the priest is not selected, qualified, commissioned for his own cheap and pitiable self, but for the people? Then the heart of the Church rejoices, for her work cannot fail so long as these, her ministers, do not become unconscious of the public character of their office, with all its responsibilities of sanctity, industry, ingenuity, elevation of soul, and unquestioning devotion to the sphere of duty mapped out for them.

II. *The office of the priest is a gratuitous one.* In this he is likest his Master, Jesus, who emptied Himself for the love of man. Even so the priest is the servant, the "servus publicus," of humanity. He is its debtor for all that he has and is. More than any one else, he is concerned with its woes and its ills, and if he does not feel in himself a perpetual aching and unrest at the sight of sorrow he cannot cure, of wrongs he cannot redress, there is something deficient in him. *Exi a*

¹For the priestly office is indeed discharged on earth, but it ranks amongst heavenly ordinances; and very naturally so, for neither man, nor angel, nor archangel, nor any other created power, but the Paraclete Himself, instituted this vocation and persuaded men while still abiding in the flesh to represent the ministry of angels. Wherefore the consecrated priest ought to be as pure as if he were standing in the heavens themselves in the midst of those powers. Fearful, indeed, and of most awful import, were the things which were used before the dispensation of grace, as the bells, the pomegranates, the stones on the breastplate and on the ephod, the girdle, the mitre, the long robe, the plate of gold, the holy of holies, the deep silence within. But if anyone should examine the things which belong to the dispensation of grace he will find that, small as they are, yet they are fearful and full of awe, and that what was spoken concerning the law is true in this case also, that "what has been made glorious hath no glory in this respect by reason of the glory which excelleth. For when thou seest the Lord sacrificed and laid upon the altar, and the priest standing and praying over the victim, and all the worshippers empurpled with that precious blood, canst thou then think that thou art still amongst men and standing upon the earth? Art thou not, on the contrary, straightway translated to Heaven, and casting out every carnal thought from the soul, dost thou not with disembodied spirit and pure reason contemplate the things which are in Heaven? Oh, what a marvel! What love of God to man! He who sitteth on high with the Father is, at that hour, held in the hands of all, and gives Himself to those who are willing to embrace and grasp Him. And this all do through the eyes of faith! Do these things seem to you fit to be despised or such as to make it possible for anyone to be uplifted against them?"—St. John Chrysostom, "De Sacerdotio," Bk. III, c. 3.

domo tua et cognatione tua et a gente tua. So Abraham was called out of Ur in Chaldaea, so the prophets were called, so the apostles were called, so every true priest of Christ is called, to go forth and make holy war forever against the enemies of truth, the adversaries of humanity. He can look for no adequate reward here below; first, because this whole life of earth is a time and a condition of struggle; and, second, because nothing on earth can rightly fill a heart which has once recognized itself as the soldier of Jesus Christ. Can the exile find rest away from the domestic hearth? Can the warrior enjoy his stipend while he dwells in the heart of the enemies' country? Can any or all the things of earth, material and transitory, satisfy the just longings of a soul trained to look on man and life from the lofty viewpoint of the Spirit, God, Infinity, Eternity? The priest is like Samuel before the Lord, "Lord, what will'st Thou?" His soul ought ever be open to every high impulse, everything noble, humanitarian, uplifting, progressive. In him, of all men, there ought to be a divine compelling germ of discontent with self and the present, a straining towards what is better and desirable, "*Quae retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea quae sunt priora extendens meipsum.*" Let us look back at the men who have illustrated our high calling, the latches of whose shoes we are unworthy to loose, at the priestly saints, holy bishops like Francis de Sales, holy priests like John Baptist De Rossi or St. Vincent de Paul, or the Curé of Ars. What an abandonment of self to the duties of their state! What a conception of themselves as the public slaves of mankind! What ingenuity of charity and zeal for the thousand needs of their flocks! But why should I go so far afield for examples of gratuitous service, for such Christ-like emptying of self as our poor natures comport? Is not our own Church holy, vigorous, fertile—yea, mother of saints like the venerable churches of the Old World? From these thrice-blessed precincts how many have gone forth into the hundred phases of this newest and most fateful of the epoch-making conflicts that Catholicism has had to sustain! In one short century not only is their number great, but their merits are beyond the telling. The oldest here present may have talked with the pioneers, the youngest

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have caught from their memories and their monuments some fire of their devotion. Is it too much to say that since the days of Pentecost, since the heroic periods of the national conversions, the world has not looked on labors so gratuitous, on devotion so absolute at once and intelligent, so active and creative and stimulating, as the American clergy has furnished within this century. Behold, as its proofs, the fair white vesture of churches with which the land is covered! Behold the profound respect, nay, the love and veneration with which the peoples who built these churches still look upon the priestly figures who minister at their altars, the benediction in which they hold the memories of the departed! If any reward, save Christ Himself, could satisfy the heart of the priest who throws his being without reserve into the work of his ministry, would it not be this overpowering cry of Love, this incredible showing of Faith, this living and universal response of the people, whereby he knows that his ministry is fruitful, that the kingdom of God is being broadened, but truly, surely, steadily, by his endeavors?

III. *The office of the priest is a sacrificial office.* Out of her kingly constitution Rome saved but one officer, the "*rex sacrificiorum*," to remind her of the archaic days of paternalism. Out of all human history only the Catholic priest survives to remind the world officially of an original and fundamental law of life and progress, namely, sacrifice. Immolation of Self, Plenitude of Love! Behold the two concepts which commended the person and the work of Jesus Christ to the first generations of Semites and Gentiles who were called upon to accept Him as their Priest and their King. Immolation of self *sub omnipotenti manu Dei*, even as Isaac knelt beneath the knife of Abraham, that thereby the infinite malice of sin, the ocean-like vastness of hatred and rebellion, might be destroyed like a hand-writing,—such was the key-note of the life of the Great High Priest of the New Law. "Greater love than this no man hath than that He should lay down His life for His friends," And this was done in the fullness of love. No man took His life from Him; He had power to lay it down, and He had power to take it up again. To the apostles He is brother, Jerusalem is His daughter, His disciples are born

again in Him to truth and justice and eternity. An atmosphere of burning love surrounds Him; He is Himself the love which presided at the birth of creation, and dwells still for its weal within the order He created.

Now, this sublime element of divine and saving sacrifice must be found in every priest really worthy of the name. It constitutes him the light of humanity, the salt of the earth. When Caiphas cried out that one man must die for the people he gave voice unwittingly to the deepest and oldest sentiment of mankind. When the fantastic Shaman of Siberia commands the death of the tribal chieftain to appease the spirit of the plague, he yields to something historic and primitive in our nature, as Jephte did when his daughter went out to mourn upon the mountains, as Greek Calchas did when he willed the death of Iphigenia, as Euripides did when he nailed high on the cold rocks of Caucasus the Friend of Mankind, Prometheus, as Plato did when he hung upon a cross his ideal Just Man. In the person of Jonas the prophetic order is a witness of this iron law of immolation. Besides his "daily death," Saint Paul, with a Christ-like effort, tramples on hope itself and offers himself for an anathema, so humanity be bettered by his renunciation. And his disciple, Ignatius of Antioch, marks the just ideal of the Catholic priesthood, when, standing already in spirit before the world of Greece and Rome that crowded the marble tiers of the Colosseum, he cried out: "I am the wheat of Christ, and what do I wish if not to be macerated and ground fine by the teeth of the lions that I may become a bread both white and clean."

Is this the language of an impossible mysticism? By no means. It is the doctrine of every Christian teacher who has written on the priesthood,—St. Paul, in his inspired Pastoral Epistles; St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his Apology for his Ordination; St. Chrysostom, in his work on the priesthood; St. Jerome, writing "ad Nepotianum suum"; St. Gregory, writing for the Middle Ages his Catechism of the Sacerdotal Office,—his golden *Regula Pastoralis*.¹ If there are any exponents of the nature of the Christian priesthood, they are these men, and they assume as a first principle that the life of the priest

¹One can mention only to praise them, the work of Cardinal Manning on the "Eternal Priesthood," and that of Cardinal Gibbons on the "Ambassador of Christ."

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is of sacrifice all made up. And if it is true, is it too hard and stern a law? Look at the physician, the statesman, the man of natural science, the man of letters in his highest expression, the poet! Are they not often filled with the spirit of sacrifice? And do they not throw down into the furnace of enthusiasm for humanity whatever they have and are? Paracelsus, Galileo, Washington, Hugo,—do not these names burn forever in the firmament of history as passionate lovers of humanity, as sufferers for its weal and progress? *Et hi quidem, ut temporalem accipiant hereditatem, . . . Nostra autem conversatio in coelis est.*

The Institutes of Justinian begin with the admirable thought that the legislator is the priest of justice and equity. *Nos autem sacerdotes recti et just.* But we are priests of a higher priesthood than can be created by reason and experience. We share and administer a divine priesthood. Our altar and our Victim, our scope and our means, our spirit and our history, are all heavenly, above and beyond nature, though not contrary to it or destructive of it.

It is well, indeed, that we are all held up by a higher power, that we shine in a borrowed light, that our great deeds are done, as it were, in commission and delegation. For there is something pathetic and tragic in the self-sacrifice of the priest. Not only must he imitate on earth in the public service of mankind the immolation and the love of his Captain and Master, but he must first slay himself, as it were; he must stifle the old Adam of sin and rebellion entrenched in his own heart, in his own flesh and bones. O incredible warfare! O Janus-like battle! Within us are barking monsters of heat and cold, of concupiscence and apathy, and without the shining hosts of the world, and all-wrong, and triumphant sin! And we must carry on forever this double immolation. Forever we wear bound up with the white fillet of our public office the red and bleeding fillet of the self-slaughterer. Well did that noble poet, Gregory Nazianzen, say that the priest is like a captain of a mutinous ship in the heart of a tempest, like a general, one-half of whose forces fight in the plain with a visible enemy, while the other half contend above the clouds with forces they can neither see nor estimate.

Surely the life of the Catholic priest is a *via crucis*, and he who fears to bear the Cross after the Master is better off in some humbler and safer station. There may be periods of public rest, lulls as it were, in the storm, the furlough of the soldier; but they do not last, and the priest soon finds himself where he belongs, in the center of a conflict that existed before him and will exist after him, but in which he must bear himself manfully in *Christo et secundum Christum*. In himself the good and the bad, the night and the light, contend unceasingly, the law and order of perversity with the law and order of righteousness. Forever, Christ-like, he moves up the side of Calvary. Few of us go by the same path to that mystic mountain of sorrow, but by some path we must all climb, if we would take our place near the blood-bedewed throne of our Master. And every path is narrow and beset with obstacles, and only the earnest and the lightly laden arrive first, while the lukewarm and heavy burdened are long in reaching Him.

Venerable brethren! We are the last comers in a long line of priests that stretches back to the apostles, and in them to the Cross and Cenacle. Our history is the history of the world since first we were sent out into it, the agents and vicars of Jesus Christ. And when all is told, we may be proud of those who went before us. *Qua homines*, they sustained well the shock of conflict, they stood brave and united about the standard of Christ, they delivered to us unimpaired the lessons of His life and His teaching. Like the Lampadophori or torch-bearers in the games of Greece, they have handed down, one to another, through all the centuries, the living flame of knowledge and piety. And we may well turn, as King Ahasuerus did, to the annals of the past, to draw comfort therefrom and direction,—we shall not be deceived. *Qua regio in terris nostri non plena laboris!* What culture of the Orient so high and old that we have not conquered it for Christ! What barbarism so pallid and spent that we have not stooped to lift it from the horrors of its moral death! What powers “in excelsis” that we have not manfully withstood in defense of the rights and ideals of humanity! What patience and persistency have we not shown in dealing with

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our own selves and in judging, Rhadamanthus-like, with stern severity every lapse from the ideal of our estate and our calling! All other priesthoods were local, temporary, natural, human, and imperfect. This alone transcends all time and dominates humanity, taking wings with the rise, and accommodating its steps to the decline of man in his varied and successive combinations.

In this priesthood there is an historic and logical continuity, and thereby an organic law of motion, of progress, of perfection. We may not add to its constituent parts nor take from them,—indeed, it is at once our boast and our pledge of power that we do not. But we may add to the zeal and the industry, the insight and the ingenuity of the past. The French clergy of the end of the seventeenth century far surpass the clergy of the Merovingian days. And you may multiply this example by many others. They show that it is possible to advance from height to height, to expand as a body from one sphere of good to another, and to add forever fresh pages of conquest to the annals of our order. Not only is it possible,—it is a law. *Estote Perfecti* includes not only the perfection of the individual soul, but when applied to the priest the perfection that is the steady progress of ministration to the needs of society. And when that society is itself so much in advance of its own past conditions, which it has shaken off as a serpent sheds its skin, the obligation on the part of the priest to meet it half way is very near and pressing. And when that society is in love with such divine gifts as philosophy, history, the sciences of nature, of man, of its very self, shall not the priest of that society rise to its demands? Shall he not see that his sacrifice may be henceforth the sacrifice of the scholar, the student, the thinker? Shall he listen to the hundred grave and motivated warnings of one like Leo XIII, qualified, if any, by office and experience, to warn ecclesiastical youth of the needs of the present and the future, and not heed them? When were our responsibilities to humanity divided, so that we are now concerned only with the things of the sacristy? What more nefarious principle did Julian the Apostate establish when he forbade the Christians to deal with Greek letters? What worse situation did mediæval emperors create for the Church

when, in practice or in theory, they denied her right to criticise the morality of their public acts?

No! the office of the priest remains truly and forever a public, gratuitous and sacrificial one. And he is beholden to the society in which he lives for the best that he is or can make himself. He alone lives unhampered by any other ties, alone, by the law and the spirit of his order, is concerned with the higher goods of the soul, the higher morality of social welfare and progress. With what instinct, as true as it is sudden, all men turn to the priest aboard a sinking ship! With an instinct no less true our own American society looks up to the priest as one who has the words of eternal life. It is faithful if his faith be strong and intelligent; is hopeful if his voicing out with sympathy and cheeriness; is transformed with love, if the heart of the priest be saturated with a spirit of sacrifice and unselfishness. Never was priestly example a surer trap for souls. With all its pride our American society, like that of every age, is torn by vast misgivings that more and more agitate each individual, is daily more sick with spiritual longings half-concealed and half-revealed, is worn with the ill-regulated friction of soul and body, of conscience and desire. Like all human society, this too is forever a child, at once of genius and weakness, in face of that realm of mystery which lies beyond the limitations of sense,

"Ah, friend, behold and see!
What's all the beauty of humanity?
Can it be fair?
What's all the strength? Is it strong?
And what hope can they bear,
These dying livers, living one day long?
Ah, seest thou not, my friend,
How feeble and slow,
And like a dream doth go,
This poor blind manhood, drifted from its end?"

May the Holy Spirit quicken in each one of us the sense of his dignity, the keenness of zeal, the consciousness of responsibility, the divine power of assertion made luminous and convincing by the logic of our lives, the ardor to be up and doing within the limits and along the lines of our calling!

In this cosmopolitan office all is great and holy, provided it be done with order and regularity. There are young and old, there are superiors and inferiors, there are experienced and inexperienced, there are those just clothed with their spiritual arms, and those from whose honorable hands these weapons are falling. But all belong to a common nobility. A common aristocracy of sentiment, temper, and duty is peculiar to all. May we so administer this high and holy charge of the priesthood that when we must step out of our places and yield them to others, while we go before the Great Captain of our earthly warfare, we may hear from Him that desirable sentence of approval: "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

LYRISM IN SHAKSPERE'S "COMEDIES."

There is a great difference between a comedy by Shakspeare and a comedy by Molière. And this difference is not only the difference that must exist between a play written for Elizabethans who went to the theatre dependent on a strong appeal to the imagination and people of the time of Louis XIV desiring to see life as it was reflected on the stage. The age of Elizabeth and the age of Louis XIV were very unlike. The mob that filled the pit of the Globe Theatre had little affinity with the courtiers who gathered at St. Cyr¹ to listen to the Esther of Racine, to wonder whether the Count de Soisson was the original of the man who discovered that he had been talking prose all his life, and insinuate that the model for Tartufe was the Bishop of Autun.² The real difference, however, lies in the fact that the plays of Molière are comedies, pure and simple, while the most beautiful of Shakspeare's are lyrical extravagances. Speaking of Aristotle, Cardinal Newman says: "The inferior poem may, on his principle, be the better tragedy." A careful examination of any play of Molière's and a comparison of it with the best comedies of Shakspeare will show that Shakspeare was, by all odds, a poet, while Molière was not a poet at all, but, in the best sense, a comedian of the highest order. Leaving out the question as to the distinctly opposite views of life and their art taken by these men of genius, I may say that the essential difference between them is the difference between poetry and prose. And though prose may be not unmusical, yet it is never lyrical, and all the plays of Shakspeare, except in certain prosaic passages introduced consciously, are lyrical; they are full of emotion, mood, feeling, the quality of aspiration, musically expressed. The music of the composer and the music of the poet are not the same, but they touch each other. The poet who lives in a musical time will set his cadences and pauses to the tunes he hears.

¹ Letters of Madame de Sévigné, June 12, 1680; Feb. 21, 1689.

² It must have been the enemies of Mgr. de Roquette who whispered this, for the real Tartufe was a certain M. Fertant. See "La Vraie Fin de Tartufe," *Revue Bleue*, May 18, 1899.

The air is full of music and the accent of familiar songs sets the mould for the metres of the bard. Shakspeare's time was the most musical that England ever knew. The lute and the spinnet were everywhere; the madrigal and the glee so common that at any moment in the day voices were ready to join in them. "It was the Puritan,"¹ George Brandes says, "who cast out music from the daily life of England. Spinnets stood in the barbers' shops for the use of customers waiting their turn." Music tried to get back with the Restoration, as we see from the passionate devotion of both Evelyn and Pepys, to the part-songs, but it had gone out of the every-day existence of a people who, after awhile, heard music only as an exotic in the form of Italian opera. But before the Reformation and for a time after, all England sang. All the Elizabethan dramatists break into the lyrical strain, with more or less success, according to the fineness of their feeling and their ear. John Addington Symonds² says that the lyrical element "per-
vaded all species of poetry in the Elizabethan age. * * *

We then had a native school of composers, and needed not to know the melodies of other lands. Every house had its lute suspended on the parlor wall. In every company of men and women part-songs were sung." Shakspeare, the foremost expresser of his time, was the most lyrical—the most songful—of all its writers. Dramatic expression may be full and noble without the musical cadence accentuated—without that extravagance of figures, that play of the fancy, that redundancy of imaginative suggestion, that lark-like flight which is sustained lyricism. There are many such forms of noble dramatic expression in Shakspeare. The great scene between Hamlet and his mother is not lyrical, though it has the measured movement of metrical cadences. It does not suggest the chant, though it is intense to the finest degree. A drama may be lyrical in the noblest sense; an ode must be lyrical in the noblest sense, though, in our time, we have lost sight of the real meaning of lyrical and almost limited it to sweet songs of the type of which Tennyson gives us perfect specimens in "The Princess."

¹William Shakspeare: A Critical Study. George Brandes: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

²The Lyrism of the English Romantic Drama. Paper written for the Elizabethan Society of Toynbee Hall.

It would be unnecessary to show that lyricism was one of the principal qualities of the Greek drama and that, as Newman says, it was founded on no scientific principle; "it was a pure recreation of the imagination, reveling without object or meaning beyond its own exhibition."¹ The belief that holds that there is a wide gulf between the "classicism" of Sophocles and the romantic lyricism of Shakspeare is unfounded. They were more akin than most of us imagine. While Racine and Corneille are nearer to Aristotle than Shakspeare, Shakspeare is nearer to Sophocles and Euripides than Racine and Corneille. The presence of the declamatory, the eloquent quality, is evident in the French tragedians, but seldom does the lyrical quality appear. There is always reticence, the restraint of feeling modulated by rigid rule, seldom the imaginative, emotional outburst, put there by the author without regard to the action of the drama, and never the little song so metred that its every accent and pause suggests the combination of notes by which the composer will make it ready for his harp. When poetical expression is over-abundant and conveys the impression that it might be chanted, or sung or even read to musical accompaniment, it is lyrical. Hamlet's

"Confess yourself to Heaven;
Repent what's past: avoid what is to come,"

is not a lyrical cry; nor is the Queen's outburst,

"O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain."

But there is lyricism—so overstrained that it nearly becomes bombastic rhetoric—in the dialogue between Hamlet and Laertes at the grave of Ophelia, in the Queen's description of Ophelia's death, and in speech after speech in Richard II. For instance. (Act III, 2):

"Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs;
As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles at meeting,
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
And do thee favor with my gentle hands."

¹ "Poetry with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics."

If Molière's "L'Avare" and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" are comedies, Shakspeare's "As You Like It," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Tempest," and "The Winter's Tale" certainly are not, and "Love's Labor Lost" and "The Twelfth Night"—in fact, all except the "Comedy of Errors" and "The Taming of the Shrew" are very defective ones. Dialogue and dramatic interest and action, *vraisemblance* constitute a comedy. How extravagant, how impossible, how undramatic, how exquisitely lyrical in every sense is "As You Like It"! As for the characters which have any hold on local reality, they are Elizabethans, though they live in No Man's Land. In essence, all except Oliver are universal. Music is everywhere in the atmosphere of the play. There are intervals of prose, like the expository conversation between Adam and Orlando, in the first act, and all the speeches until the shadow of the tyrant Duke falls upon the scene. There are hints of music, as if the violinists were trying their instruments, but the lyrical quality of the play is not shown until we enter the Forest of Arden. The sentiment of the forest permeates every line until Amiens begins to sing:

"Under the greenwood tree
Who loves to lie with me,
And turn his merry note
Unto the sweet bird's throat,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather."

Then comes the chorus:

"Who doth ambition shun,
And love to live i' the sun,
Seeking the food he eats,
And pleased with what he gets,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather."

There are many passages where the overwrought high-strained appeal to the imagination seems to resemble the

euphuistic affectation which Shakspeare ridiculed in Polonius and Osric,—the speeches at the grave in "Hamlet" are examples. In extenuation, it must be remembered that the theatre of Shakspeare was barren of all those accessories which force stage effects upon our sight to-day. There were no waving leaves where shadows are cast by calcium lights upon tufts of grass at the Globe or the Rose theatre, at the end of the sixteenth century. At Court the Queen's master of the revels, Edmund Tylney, could command scenic apparatus almost as splendid as Calderon used at the Palace of Buen Retero. But the theatre of Shakspeare, where the royal masques were not given, was forced to appeal through the ear rather than eye.

A boy acted Rosalind or Ophelia, Perdita or Juliet and the fairies in "Midsummer Night's Dream," were rosy-cheeked urchins, more suggestive of roast beef and Yorkshire pudding than moonlight and cobwebs. Most of us enjoy more a play of Shakspeare's read in quietness than presented to us subject to all the accidents of theatrical realism. This is because Shakspeare left nothing to such accidents. With no scenery and sometimes not even a screen, the sides of his platform occupied by loungers, without the means of changing the effect from light to darkness, he is obliged to force the illusion by the imaginative powers of the text. He can not keep the expressions of his characters down to the level of ordinary life; their speech must soar in imagination and it must have in expression musical cadences. The modern opera has its reason in this need to be lyrical. It is artificial; it can never, if it retain its absurd *libretti* or depend on the Wagnerian effects, appeal to the imagination as cadenced lyrical dramas, such as "As You Like It" and "The Tempest;" for the imagination is clogged, held down, by too much realism. The desire to uplift by means of sonorous lyrical words, set to music, is at the root of the creation of the opera. The Church,—if I may be permitted to say so,—has, especially in the Tenebræ, shown how far dramatic suggestiveness may go without dragging the imagination too near reality. Shakspeare was an unconscious psychologist, and he, applying his genius to lesser themes, understood admirably the essential quality of suggestion. When rhetoric seems, as with Laertes, to approach

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rant, it is the result of the poet's determination to take the lounging gallants and the citizens and 'prentice boys to forget themselves in the high-pitched passion of the moment,—for this great artist must rely only on the influence of uttered words. His soliloquies—dramatic expediency forcing him to make his character speak to the public the very processes of his secret thought—are unquestioned by men of taste because their seriousness and dignity is supported by fitting musical cadences. Under the master's art-spell, we forget that the sable-hued Hamlet ought to be absurd as he stands—the other characters having conveniently left him alone—not in self-communing silence, but in outspoken analysis of his own mind. Shakspeare meant to bear our imaginations into his world, and he succeeded; he is more of a magician than Prospero.

Perhaps of all the plays, "As You Like It" is most lyrical in structure. "We may liken," Newman says (op. cit.), "the Greek drama to the music of the Italian school; in which the wonder is, how so much richness of invention in detail can be accommodated to a style so simple and uniform. Each is the development of grace, fancy, pathos and taste, in the respective media of representation and sound."

Dr. Newman may have thought of Mozart, but certainly not of Donizetti or Bellini. Similarly, "As You Like It" resembles the structure which underlies the operas of the Italian composers. There are recitatives, the duets, arias, and those particularly English madrigal effects, which accentuate the pastoral feeling when the imagination needs the stimulus of more pronounced music. The Duke S. opens the first scene in the forest with the *recitativo* which closes—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head:
And thus our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.
I would not change it."

There is a snatch of dialogue between the exiled Duke and Amiens, and the First Lord begins his *recitativo*,—and an

exquisitely lyrical one it is!—the description of the oak and the deer, and the moralizing of the melancholy Jaques. It impedes the action; Molière would not have tolerated it; modern theatrical managers cut it out; it would be permitted only in a musical play. The lyrical phrases change and interweave. Silvius breaks forth,—

“O thou did'st then ne'er love so heartily.
If thou remember'st not the slightest folly
That ever love did make thee run into,
Thou hast not loved;
Or if thou hast not spake as I do now
Wearing thy hearer in thy mistress' praise,
Thou hast not loved;
Or if thou hast not broke from company
Abruptly, as my passion now makes me,
Thou hast not loved.”

When Orlando appeals to the foresters for his fainting old servant, Adam, we hear the same cadences, artfully changed,—

“But whate'er you are
That in this desert inaccessible,
Under the shade of melancholy boughs,
Love and neglect the creeping hours of time;—
If ever you have looked on better days,
If ever been where bells have knell'd to church,
If ever sat at any good man's feast,
If ever from your eyelids wiped a tear,
And know what 'tis to pity and be pitied,
Let gentleness my strong enforcement be;
In the which hope I blush, and hide my sword.”

And when Jaques has ended his sad *recitativo*,—

“All the world's a stage,”

Shakspeare waves his baton and the meditative mood is relieved, but not interrupted by the lusty Amiens,—

“Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath is rude.”

With a rush the chorus comes in—

"Heigh-ho, sing heigh-ho! unto the green holly:
Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly:
Then, heigh-ho, the holly!
This life is most jolly."

Amiens regains the thread of the melody,—

"Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
That dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot:
Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As friend remembered not."

Orlando opens Scene II of Act III with a new rhymed lyrical movement, and disappears to let the inferior Corin and Touchstone talk in every-day prose. In Scene II, Act V, there is the quartette of Silvius, Phebe, Rosalind, and Orlando, with the suggestion of the fugue. It is not set to the music of the composer and there is no direction in the text for musical accompaniment, but no reader could utter it without making verbal music the recurrent cadence:

Phebe. "Good shepherd, tell this youth what 'tis to love.
Silvius. "It is to be made of sighs and tears;
And so am I for Phebe.
Phebe. "And I for Ganymede.
Orlando. "And I for Rosalind.
Rosalind. "And I for no woman.

Silvius has his solo part—

"It is to be all made of fantasy,
All made of passion, and all made of wishes,
All adoration, duty, and observance,
All humbleness, all patience, and impatience,
All purity, all trial, all observance,
And so am I for Phebe."

Phebe. "And so am I for Ganymede.
Orlando. "And so am I for Rosalind.
Rosalind. "And so am I for no woman."

Phebe, after this cadence, takes a new rhythmical modulation—

"If this be so, why blame you me to love you?"

Silvius. "If this be so, why blame you me to love you?"

Orlando. "If this be so, why blame you me to love you?"

Rosalind. "Who do you speak to, 'Why blame you me to love you?"

Orlando. "To her that is not here, nor doth not hear."

The last act is made up of musical cadences, with a short interval of prose. The vocal fugue is imitated, especially in the speeches of Jaques and Rosalind, and the real song of that act is Hymen's—

"There is mirth in heaven
Where earthly things made even
Move together."

"The Winter's Tale" is lyrical from beginning to end. The rogue, Autolycus, has some delightful snatches of song—

"When daffodils begin to peer"

and

"Lawn as white as driven snow,
Cyprus black as e'er was crow,
Gloves as sweet as damask roses,
Masks for faces and for noses."

And his part in the trio with Dorcas and Mopsa—

"Get you hence, for I must go,
Where it fits not you to know."

Dorcas. "Whither?"

Shyrsa. "O whither?"

Dorcas. "Whither?"

For the delicate management of the pauses, for musical suggestiveness, for convincing appeal to the fancy, what can be better than the trio of the Shepherd, Polixenes and Perdita, in Act IV, Scene III:

"O Proserpina,
For the flowers now that, frightened, thou let'st fall
From Dis's waggon! daffodils
That come before the swallow dares and take
The winds of March with beauty; violets dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath."

There is the aubade, in *Cymbeline*, which bursts through the prose of the Clown's speech :

"Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,
And Phœbus 'gins arise,
His steeds to water at those springs
On chalic'd flowers that lies;
And winking Mary-buds begin
To ope their golden eyes;
With everything that pretty is,
My lady sweet, arise,
Arise, arise!"

Over Imogen's body Arviragus speaks :

"We'll say our song the whilst. Brother, begin."

Guiderius. "Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone and ta'en thy wages;
Golden lads and lasses must,
As chimney-sweepers come to dust."

Arviragus. "Fear no more the frown of the great,
Thou art past the tyrant's stroke;
Care no more to clothe and eat;
To thee the reed is as the oak;
The sceptre, learning, physic must
All follow this, and come to dust."

Guiderius. "Fear no more the lightning flash,"

Arviragus. "Nor the all-dreaded thunder stone."

Guiderius. "Fear not slander, censure rash;"

Arviragus. "Thou has finished joy and moan."

Both. "All lovers young, all lovers must
Consign to thee, and come to dust."

Guiderius. "No exorciser harm thee!"

Arviragus. "Nor no witchcraft charm thee!"

Guiderius. "Ghost unlaid forbear thee!"

Arviragus. "Nothing ill come near thee!"

Both. "Quiet consummation have
And renowned be thy grave!"

"These songs," Mr. Symonds says, "cannot be regarded as occasional ditties, interpolated for the delectation of the audience. * * * They condense the particular emotion of

the tragedy or comedy in a quintessential drop of melody. Mr. Pater has dwelt upon a single instance of this fact with his usual felicity of phrase. Speaking of the song in 'Measure for Measure' he remarks that in it the kindling power and poetry of the whole play seem to pass for a moment into an actual strain of music."

It is an actual strain of music, needing neither string nor wind instrument, but only the inspiration of unforced breath. It has all the qualities of music except pitch.

Portia was musical. When it comes Bassanio's turn to choose the casket she is devoured with anxiety. She cannot tell him that the leaden box contains the key of his fate and hers. He, led by deluding fancy, may choose the gold or silver box. She must not speak, she cannot give him a hint in words of hers, but another may sing. She confesses this to nobody, but makes a prelude to her carefully chosen lyric:—

"Let music sound while he doth make his choice:
Then, if he lose, he makes a swan-like end,
Fading in music."

And, while Bassanio comments on the caskets to himself, the song goes on—

"Tell me, where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?
Reply, reply.

It is engender'd in the eyes,
With gazing fed; and fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies.

Let us all ring fancy's knell;
I'll begin it—Ding, dong, bell."

All. "Ding, dong, bell."

Bassanio had more than the usual vanity of his sex and he was as thoughtlessly selfish as any other spirited gallant of his time, but he had a pretty wit and he catches the hint.

"So may the outward shows be least themselves,
The world is still deceived with ornament."

On the message of this lyric depends the turn of the play, and yet how easily and naturally it is dropped in. It falls

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so gently that it seems to be a gliding strain caught as a point of rest in the suspensive interest of the moment, but it determines Bassanio's action.

There are musicians who thank heaven for "A Midsummer Night's Dream" because it suggested Mendelssohn's music. Herr Ambros, in "The Boundaries of Music and Poetry," seems to draw very near to this. "When," he says, "we are listening to the wonderfully elusive, fluttering, skipping, bantering G-minor *Scherzo* (this miracle of instrumentation,) introducing Puck's roguish pranks, we believe everything which the poet relates of him—before our *eyes*, Puck skips into the side scenes; to our ears, he actually flies like the arrow from the Indian's bow; and we believe the ear more than the eye."

This is true—but only after we have known the play and steeped ourselves in the scent of the musk-roses and seen the moonlight on the banks of wild thyme. It is to the ear that Shakspeare speaks,—even a cursory study of his lyrism will make that plain; he speaks through music, but it is a music more evanescent, less palpable, but more directly expressive than Mendelssohn's, because it is a music essential to the words themselves, not a set of musical sounds speaking a composer's impressions of them. Where Shakspeare has given

"to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name,"

Mendelssohn interprets it in music; the G-minor *Scherzo* might mean almost anything gay, if the composer of "Songs Without Words," had not told us of the theme on which he founded it. No; the music of Mendelssohn may suggest, but never so directly and unequivocally as the metred phrase of the lyricist. Shakspeare knew this, and better than this, he knew that his appeal must be by concordant words to the emotions through the imagination. He must make pictures, too. And, in the old days at Stratford, in the homely country lanes and fields, he had gathered all the material for these pictures. The folk-song heard at twilight, the glimpse of the spot in the chalice of the cowslip like a drop of blood, the dying fall of the madrigal as the shepherds went their way

to the shearing, the daisies "smelless, yet most quaint,"—all these had become part of his younger life, and about them sounded the echoes of the glees and rustic dances. Thus the picture and the accented words were one. No realism can altogether ruin the lyrism of "Midsummer Night's Dream," for the poet, forced to soar above the sordid surroundings of his theatre, made an appeal with all the strength of his genius, strengthened by many garnered treasures drawn from nature herself, which Mendelssohn or Berlioz could only suggest, but never reach. The pleasanter dramas of Shakspeare, without the lyrism, would still be the masterpieces of character and philosophy, taken from life, but they would not deserve the name of comedies in Molière's sense, nor could they be justly held to compare with his. They would lack that exquisite, permeative charm that makes them the most beautiful things of their kind under heaven. And the strength of this charm is, in part, due to the fact that even the smallest lyric arises from the feeling of the composition and intensifies it. The melodious "Spring Song" at the end of "Love's Labor Lost," is at once a conclusion and a harbinger. Mendelssohn, the composer, recalls the spring, but only when we know beforehand what he intends to recall; the "Winter Song," has the meaning of an epilogue. And the very bloom of the mood of the Duke, in "Twelfth Night," is accented by

"That old and antique song we heard last night;
Methought it did relieve my passion much,
More than light airs and recollected terms
Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times;
Come, but one verse. * * *

"Come away, come away, death,
And in sad cypress let me be laid."

And the Prince Ferdinand's amazement is turned to sad remembrance by Ariel's song, which is as much a part of the feeling of the moment as the glow is of a ruby.

"Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes;
Nothing of him that doth fade,

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But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something new and strange,—
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:

Ding, dong.

Hark ! now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell."

What can be said of these lyrics, except that, whether invented by Shakspeare or borrowed from "antique songs," they were made by him essential to the works in which they appear. While their echoes are with me, I shall write no more ; for as Armado says,

"The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs
Of Apollo. You that way ; we this way." [Exeunt.]

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

A CATHOLIC CENSUS FOR 1900.

Like the kindred subject of Political Economy, statistics have long been considered a fair target by the writers of funny paragraphs and by other purveyors of cheap wit; and even the more dignified and serious-minded have not been averse, on occasion, to having an ill-natured fling or two at the subject. One writer, ambitious to coin a proverb, has said, "there is nothing so unreliable as figures—except statistics;" and another, who leans to comparisons, has given us three gradations of lies, and his superlative degree is "statistics." These humorous folk have been taken so seriously that in some quarters they have begotten a popular distrust of everything bearing the semblance of statistics.

This attitude of mind, however, represents merely a reaction against an opposite extreme. The value of the statistical method of investigation has been so thoroughly shown in certain fields of inquiry that it has had to suffer the penalty of *too* much popularity. It came to be regarded by many as the trade-mark of infallibility, and any statement that could appeal for corroboration to a specious and sufficiently imposing statistical table bid fair to be accepted as convincing and irrefutable. This very popularity of the method brought about its disrepute, for it led to its adoption by two classes, equally dangerous—the unskillful and the *too* skillful. The former, with no adequate training in the handling of the tool with which they worked, have expended much misdirected energy, only to deceive themselves honestly and become blind leaders of the blind; and the others, knowing too well the nature of their tool and its possibilities in tricks of legerdemain, have juggled with tables of figures until these proverbially truthful things have been made to prove the unprovable. And those who have found themselves frequently the victims of the one or the other class of statisticians have played the unreasoning rôle of the dog that attacks the innocent stone hurled at him by an unfriendly hand.

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The tricks of statistics are well known to the expert. Nearly every writer or lecturer who treats the subject with any degree of elaboration is as careful to point out the dangers and misuses of the method as he is to explain its correct use and its importance. In spite of constant teaching and constant warning, however, an astonishing ignorance is daily displayed in their use.

Mr. Giffen, the eminent English statistician, in an address before the English Statistical Society, stated the situation thus: "We must all agree in this place, I think, that there is cause both for encouragement and discouragement to us, as regards the prospects of the study in which we are engaged, in the very extensive use of statistics which some recent controversies have occasioned. . . . In these controversies . . . the appeal has been very largely to statistics. Literary journals and magazines, which rather dread figures as a rule, have admitted them into their columns on a liberal scale. . . . But while this appeal to statistics is cause for satisfaction to us, the actual handling of the subjects of our study has been such, I think, as to prove how little it has really advanced, not merely amongst the multitude only, but amongst the classes who are most carefully and highly cultivated. There has been a great hash of figures, indicating that those who use them have hardly the rudiments of statistical ideas, whether true or false. In journals of the highest standing there are the wildest blunders of the schoolboy order. . . . Our satisfaction, therefore, at seeing so frequent an appeal to statistics must be considerably qualified by the nature of the appeal. It is evidently still quite possible for essays to find admission to journals of high standing like the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Quarterly Review*, in which the writers not only make mistakes, but mistakes of an elementary and substantial character, as if in discussing chemistry a writer were to confound oxygen with hydrogen, or as if in discussing geometry he were to confound an isocles with a right-angled triangle. Writers who were capable of making such mistakes in chemistry and geometry, however cultivated in other respects, would either not find admission to the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* or the *Quarterly Review*, or their mistakes

would be corrected by the editors ; but the popular standard for statistics is evidently as yet not so strict as it is for other scientific studies. Any man, it seems to be thought, can handle figures, and writers who are otherwise competent are not afraid to touch them as they would be afraid to touch chemistry, or geometry, or botany, or geology, or almost any science one could name. That our special study should be so little advanced, although there is a dim idea in the public mind of the utility of statistics, must surely be a matter for concern to a society which has been established for nearly fifty years for the express purpose of diffusing right ideas and information. We have still, it is plain, a great work before us to perform."

Mr. Giffen spoke nearly twenty years ago ; but if he were to repeat his statements to-day they would still have a present application, and he could find illustrations for his text that would be strictly "up to date."

An excellent illustration of this has lately been furnished by the use made of the figures taken from the reports of the eleventh census on the subject of churches. Articles have been appearing which set out to show the extent to which the churches in this country have lost their hold on the great mass of the population. As irrefutable proof, the statistics of the latest census are triumphantly quoted to show that out of a total population of seventy millions there are only twenty-two millions who have any church affiliations. From these figures it is sweepingly concluded that less than one man in three is a "church-goer." The slightest examination of the census tables will at once show the utter absurdity of such a conclusion. The census returns give only the number of *communicants* of the various denominations. The age at which one becomes a communicant varies in the different churches all the way from ten years to twenty. Consequently, all below the ages at which they would be classed as communicants must be deducted from the total population before we can have a correct basis for estimating the *proportion* of the population that has, or has not, any church affiliation. When this is done, the groundlessness of the conclusion mentioned will be at once apparent.

Similarly, some one with a peculiar faculty for misinterpreting statistical tables, reached the astonishing conclusion, after reading some tables from the reports of the United States Commissioner of Labor, that something like 83 per cent. of the product of industry went to capital and only 17 per cent. to labor. It is needless to say that nothing short of the profoundest ignorance of the meaning of the figures could have derived such a conclusion from the tables in question. The Commissioner, in the interest of truth, has tried through the public prints to correct the erroneous conclusion, but some new amateur in the field of statistical study every now and then repeats the mistake of his predecessors and the statement starts on its rounds again.

Instance after instance might be cited, similar to these, to show that statistics are still as much given to playing tricks upon the unwary as they were when Mr. Giffen spoke.

Though these things may seem to give a piquant dash of truth to the witticisms and epigrams about the unreliability of statistics, the value and importance of the method can not be seriously questioned. We do not reject logic because there are sophists; nor decry all medical science because there are "quacks;" nor repudiate religion because there are pious frauds. Neither should we discredit the statistical method because it is misused by the ignorant or the designing. Dr. Wright has expressed the situation tersely in his saying that "figures will not lie, but, unfortunately, liars will figure."

The difficulty arises mainly from misunderstanding the nature and the meaning of statistical tables. They are not in themselves final, nor are they a substitute for logic. They are designed merely to give us a basis for inductive reasoning. Tabulated data can give us no license to do violence to the principles of logic and reach conclusions out of all proportion to our premises. The statistical method represents merely the application to the social sciences of the *systematized* processes of observation and induction that have been used with such brilliant success in the field of the natural sciences. The progress of knowledge advances in proportion as the field of observation is broadened, and the fact that the natural sciences have developed so much earlier and so much farther than

the social sciences is largely due to the use in the natural sciences of what we may term the laboratory method. In the laboratory men have been able to reproduce the phenomena of nature with such frequency, and under such diverse conditions, that the field of observation has been immeasurably widened, and valid generalizations have become possible.

The student of social phenomena can not reproduce these at will, nor in any way control them either as to frequency or conditions. He is denied the luxury of a laboratory, and is not permitted the freedom of decomposing and recomposing at will the molecules of his investigations. The material on which he works is too sacred for that. Yet the same hard-and-fast rules of logic bind him in his investigations and conclusions as bind the physical scientist, and he is permitted to reach generalizations only after an equally wide range of observation. So, since the phenomena will not come to him, and appear and reappear at his bidding, he follows the example of the shrewd prophet, and goes to the phenomena. Here it is that he makes use of the statistical method. He ceases to rely on chance observation. Selecting the social phenomenon he wishes to study, he inaugurates a series of systematic observations, extending over a wide area and carried on under a variety of conditions. The enumeration and classification of the results of these observations are presented in statistical tables. Statistics thus represent social observation carried out on a large scale, systematized and classified. The social investigator, when he has compiled his tables of data, is no farther along in his study than is the natural scientist who has experimented in his laboratory and carefully noted down the phenomena he has observed and the conditions attending them. In the case of the one as in that of the other, any principle that the investigator may lay down, or any hypothesis he may advance, will merit acceptance only in proportion to the range over which his observations have extended and to the fidelity with which he has adhered to the principles of logic in drawing his conclusions. Instances are not wanting in either field of specious hypotheses and rigid conclusions foisted on a too credulous world, and unsupported by any adequate basis. In the case

of physical science we do not condemn the inductive method indiscriminately, because a sciolist has failed to understand its use. In the case of statistics we show a tendency to visit on the tool the disrepute that is due rather to the user.

Statistics serve us as a basis for the study and interpretation of social phenomena. The importance of the method in all forms of social study can hardly be overestimated, and there can be no doubt that much of the progress that marks the development of the social sciences to-day is due to the wider use and fuller understanding of the method. Thus the value of statistics is not, as seems to be assumed by those who always bend the knee when the deductive is mentioned, merely to corroborate or to disprove theories already deduced *a priori*. On the contrary, they furnish us the data upon which to base our reasoning in the first place, and the judicious inquirer after truth will try to keep his mind free from theories,—even in germ,—until he has before him all the available data that bear on the subject of his thought.

Perhaps the best testimony to the importance of statistics is to be found in the extent to which they are being utilized by every government of the civilized world. Millions and millions of dollars are expended annually by them in the gathering, arranging, and distribution of statistics. The wisdom of the expenditure is beyond question. It represents the State endeavoring to follow out the precept of the ancient philosopher and know itself. In no other way than by statistical investigation can we know accurately the condition of the social body,—whether it be its political, its economic, or its religious condition that is the object of our solicitude.

We have recognized this truth in Church administration, but we can hardly be said to have done so to anything like the extent suggested by either our need for statistics or the superb organization at our disposal for their collection.

Carefully gathered Church statistics of an extensive kind would serve two purposes, one historical and the other what we may term "remedial." It would be enough to justify them on historical grounds, merely to say that they served the interests of truth. In a country like ours they would further

serve a distinct "missionary" purpose. It is a commonplace to say that English-speaking people, the world over, are influenced more by facts than by philosophy. The average English mind fits its philosophy to the requirements of accomplished facts; and the habit of mind seems to go with the language. Amongst us, consequently, an institution is judged rather by the results it begets in the concrete than by the principles it represents or the philosophy it teaches. A volume of results accomplished would, therefore, be of immense value to us in setting the claims of the Catholic Church before our non-Catholic fellow-citizens. It is not proposed here to substitute tables of statistics for doctrinal sermons as a means of conversion. But an adequate realization of the works for good that the Church is accomplishing in so many different fields would in itself win over many to a further inquiry into the merits of the Church, and disarm much of the unreasoning hostility that prevents us from getting a hearing. We have still fresh in our minds the outbreak of bigotry that resulted in the now moribund "A. P. A." movement. It is perhaps too much to expect that we shall not from time to time witness its recrudescence. Education alone will of course do much to abate such unreasoning dislike of us; but it takes a long time and something more than a training in the three "R's" to educate a deep-rooted prejudice out of a man. As the Church grows in importance and power we must expect to see more such outbreaks. The ostensible basis for these attacks on us was the incompatibility of Catholicity with loyalty to the republic, and this is precisely the argument that affords a certain speciousness, that appeals most readily to the mind of the ignorant "patriot" who has been reared on stories of the diabolism of "the Church of Rome," that lends itself most easily to campaign purposes,—and that can be answered by facts more conclusively than by words. When the charge is furbished up again and brought out for service, no answer could be so effectual or so confounding as the mere statement of the number of the sons and daughters of the Church who, in one capacity or another, placed their lives at the disposal of our country during its recent war with one of the oldest Catholic nations of Europe. We know that they did go forth,

and in large numbers; but we are without any definite and accessible data. As the years go by and the facts are denied by our enemies we shall be without the data that could crush them. No one who has followed any of the controversies over the part that Catholics took in the Revolution or the Civil War can have failed to note how inconclusive they were, and to have wished that we had at hand more definite data to support the claims we put forward.

Again, what a superb showing would be a compendium of the work that the Church has done in the United States during the last half or quarter of a century in the fields of education and charity. It could not but challenge the attention of thinking men of every creed—and a summary of our work in these lines would likely prove astonishing even to us who know in a partial way the extent of our activities.

Important as would be the historical value of carefully collected statistical data, still more important would be its use for what may be termed "remedial" purposes.

Only through extensive statistical investigations can we hope to know accurately the condition of the Church from year to year. They are essential to our self-knowledge, and necessary to enable us to direct aright our efforts for progress. Without them we do not detect tendencies and dangers until these have developed to the point at which they become glaring. To-day we have no definite knowledge as to the real facts concerning our progress during the present century, or any part of it. In many quarters we hear much boasting of our increase, and we point to the striking fact of the transformation that is now going on in New England. But if we take the country as a whole, is our growth a real or only a seeming growth? Undoubtedly we have grown in absolute numbers. Has our growth been anything like what it should have been, if we consider the natural rate of increase of our Catholic population, the Catholic immigration to our shores, and the number of our yearly conversions?

If in spite of our absolute increase there has been a relative falling off, what is the extent of the "leak?" Has it been general, or only in certain sections? What are its causes? And is the relative *rate* of decrease an increasing or a diminish-

ing one? These are all important questions, but none of them can be answered to our satisfaction, because of the lack of sufficient data.

Granting that there have been losses, an inquiry as to the probable causes would, in the present state of our knowledge, very likely elicit nearly as many explanations as there were persons asked, each one basing his reply on his own necessarily more or less limited observation. The remedies suggested would naturally be as varied as the causes assigned, and would likely prove more or less inadequate, because directed at partial causes. Some approximate idea of the extent of our annual losses, and a comparison of the rate in the different sections of the country, would be of much assistance in determining the principal causes and devising corresponding remedies. Anything like a uniform rate of loss throughout the whole country would naturally suggest some common and widespread cause. On the other hand, if there were wide variations in the rate of loss in the different sections of the country a comparison of these rates and an investigation of the conditions peculiar to the different sections would help very much in locating the real sources of the trouble.

Aside from these general statistics of numbers, there are many other heads under which we might gather data that would be of much use in showing us the condition of the Church from year to year.

Under the head of family, for instance, it would be important to know the number of marriages; the proportion of these that are "mixed"; the ages of the contracting parties; the number of baptisms, and similar facts. Much of this data is now annually reported, I believe, to the ordinary of the diocese for his information and guidance. If the data were elaborated some little and the reports from all the dioceses could be tabulated together, we should be in a position to make comparative studies that would be of considerable value. We could determine whether our marriage rate were an increasing or a diminishing one, and the same of our birth rate. We should know whether the average age at which our Catholic population entered on the marriage state was varying much, and in which direction the variation tended, and the rate at which it

was going on. Comparing these things in different sections of the country, and during long periods of years, we should be able to determine the causes much better than we can by any possibility do now. And we should, further, be in a position to institute comparisons in all these matters between our Catholic population and that of the country as a whole, exclusive of Catholics. These are things that are attracting the attention of careful thinkers everywhere now, and if it were shown, as I believe it would be shown, that the regrettable tendencies seen in the study of our population, as a whole, were absent or were noticeable in a far less degree in the case of our Catholic population taken separately, it would call attention in a striking manner to the influence of the Church as an effective conservator of morals, of the family, and the home. If, on the other hand, such a comparison showed that in spite of all the safeguards that the Church throws around her children in these matters, and of the many channels of grace it offers them, we are no better than our fellows, we should know it, and devise at once means to render effective the possibilities of the Church.

It would exceed the limits of this paper to go into detail as to the sort of data—and the importance of it—that we can, and should gather under the head “Education” alone. Are we keeping pace with the general educational movement of the country? Is as large a percentage of our boys in attendance on our schools as is the case with the population as a whole? Is the attendance on our parochial schools an increasing or a diminishing one, *relatively* to the increase of our Catholic population? What is the situation in this regard as to our colleges? What are the courses offered in our colleges? What are the percentages of attendance on these different courses? To what extent are existing courses modified, or new courses introduced, to meet changes in the needs of the student body? What, if any, are the changes in the requirements for admission and for graduation, made from time to time, as the general standard of education is raised throughout the country? A whole list of such questions will suggest itself readily to any one who has given the subject of education any thought. Our educational system is of vital importance to us, and we

cannot know too much about its condition. The importance of data in this field will not be questioned. Only a short time ago we were all very much startled by a paper giving the results of a partial investigation into the number of Catholic students in non-Catholic colleges. Comments on it went the rounds of all the Catholic press, and everywhere were heard expressions of astonishment. Why should we not have known it all long before? Why should we have waited until some lay individual took it into his head to make such an investigation on his own account? And why, even now, should we not have fuller data on the subject? Why not know as near as possible the whole extent of this defection from our Catholic colleges? Why not collect the data every year, so as to be in a position to determine the rate at which this "drift" is going on, and the success that is attending our efforts to check it?

Again, much valuable data could easily be gathered concerning the clergy and religious communities. What are the annual number of "vocations?" Are these keeping pace with the increase of our Catholic population? If not, is the falling off in anything like a uniform rate from year to year, and over the country as a whole, or does it vary widely in different years and in different parts of the country? Data on these points is always of use in locating causes and devising remedies. It might be interesting to have data as to where those who have vocations for the priesthood have been educated. Helpful suggestions in dealing with our educational problems might come to us from this knowledge. Another important point on which we should have knowledge is the nationalities represented in these annual additions to our priesthood. What percentage of the annual increase in our clergy represents foreign-born, or the children of foreign-born parents, and what percentage represents native-born and the children of native-born parents? This suggestion need not excite alarm, as it has nothing to do with "Americanism," and has no such unworthy motive at its base as the exaltation of one nationality at the expense of any other. But the point of importance is to know whether our American young men are entering the priesthood in numbers in any degree proportionate to the natural increase of our Catholic population.

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If not, a serious problem is likely to confront us before long, and the sooner it is foreseen and provided for the better. We can not expect that the older Catholic nations will continue to supply us our clergy in the same proportion that they have heretofore done. We must eventually look to drawing a larger proportion of them from our own youth, and we can not begin too early to study the trend in this matter.

The list thus far given of heads under which data might be gathered is intended to be merely illustrative or suggestive rather than in any way exhaustive. Many other points on which information would be valuable will readily suggest themselves to those concerned with Church affairs, and once the collection of data were begun new fields of inquiry would develop. And on the other hand, the impossibility of getting at reliable data on some of the points suggested here, or the inutility of such data, may be clearer to those in touch with Church administration than to the writer. The merit of the main proposition, that we should devise some system of gathering and preserving accurate statistics of Church matters, is entirely independent of the wisdom or the possibility of investigating the particular topics here suggested.

The gathering and preserving of data, such as has been suggested, would be a comparatively easy task, and its importance would be hard to overestimate. As matters now stand, we are without definite data on many vital points, either for our own use, or to furnish to those in other countries who are anxious to study the development of the Catholic Church in the United States.¹ The Church here is free and untrammelled, as it is in no other land. It has neither State opposition to harass it nor State assistance to enervate it. Its growth, therefore, must be a test of the innate vigor of its own constitution. This growth is being watched by its friends the world over. It is our prophecy and our boast that here in America, under these new and untried conditions,—with a free field and

¹ The writer knows of a number of requests that have come from abroad to individuals in this country asking earnestly for data of one or another sort, and each of those to whom the requests have come has had, after vain attempts to get the information desired, to reply that the data was not available. In one case a department of a foreign government, having under consideration the educational wishes of its Catholic subjects, tried to get data from this country for its guidance, only to find that we had no available data to give it. The foreign government considered at one time the advisability of engaging some one here to gather the data for it.

no favor,—the Church is to demonstrate her inherent strength, and the world is to witness in America the largest, fullest, and freest development of Catholicism, a belief and hope shared by many of our co-religionists in other lands. It is, therefore, of particular importance to gather and preserve all data that is likely ever to prove of value in illustrating the history of the Church in the United States. Thus far the chief sources of information for the country as a whole are the United States Census reports and the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. Why should we leave it to the State to gather the data for our history? And why should the State be more solicitous to "know itself" than the Church?

Granting the importance of the collection and preservation of data such as has been discussed, the question arises as to how this can best be done. Organized as the Church is, we have facilities for gathering statistical data that are unsurpassed. Much of the most valuable data that we need is already gathered in parish registers, in diocesan records and in the books of our educational, charitable and other institutions; and with very slight trouble other records could be kept, or the present records modified as to the method of entries, so that much more data would be available. The important thing in gathering statistics—after accuracy—is uniformity. Slight differences in classifications in reports from different sections might render the data useless for comparative purposes,¹ and make it impossible to combine it together into one whole. An incautious change in the form of the general tabulation, adopted to bring out more clearly some point of present interest, might easily render the data tabulated under the new method difficult or impossible of comparison with that of former years, and thus destroy much of the value of the records for historical use. What is needed,

¹ Thus, for example, in the religious statistics in the latest census only communicants are enumerated in the membership of the different denominations. But the average at which one becomes a communicant in each denomination is not given, except in the case of the Catholic Church. In consequence of this it is impossible to institute any comparison looking to the respective hold of each church on the people; for it is plainly unfair to compare the membership of a church in which membership rarely begins before eighteen or twenty years of age with one in which membership begins at fifteen, or one in which it begins at nine or ten.

therefore, to render our existing organization peculiarly effective for the gathering of valuable statistical data is primarily a directing head—some one who could see to it that this essential uniformity was secured ; who could superintend the collecting of data from the whole country and its tabulation ; who could handle the statistical problems that arise in work of this sort, and who could furnish the text that must necessarily accompany all statistical tables to explain their nature and specific limitations in order that they may be properly interpreted. In other words, this directing head should be an expert statistician, for statistics are things that the unskillful wrestle with to their own confusion and the undoing of truth.

The easiest means to secure all this would be by the establishment here, in the Catholic University of America, of a Chair of Statistics. The occupant of this chair could serve as the directing head in the matter of collecting and preserving Catholic statistics. The fields of investigation could be determined upon and the investigations authorized by archbishops of the country at their annual meetings. The investigations could then be undertaken by the professor of statistics, or rather directed by him, the results submitted to the archbishops at their meetings, and the publication of such of the results as they saw fit could be authorized by them. In a short time we could have in working order what would practically be a Catholic bureau of statistics, and aside from the publication of an annual volume that would challenge the attention of all thinking men, the University would become a storehouse of historical data, the value of which it would be difficult to estimate.

What more suitable time for inaugurating such a work than the closing year of this wonderful century ? The coming century will, doubtless, witness even more rapid and striking development than the closing one. Why not, then, take a great and complete census of the Catholic Church in the United States that shall make known to us its condition, under every possible head, and that shall be to us for all future time what the great "Domesday Book" is to England—a recognized point of departure for all succeeding history.

And when this epoch-marking investigation has been concluded, let us continue in operation the organization we have effected for this purpose, and collect this data regularly and systematically, so that every gathering of those charged with the direction of the Church, from the meeting of archbishops up to ecumenical councils, shall have the whole history of the Church before them for their enlightenment and guidance.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

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ON THE STUDY OF ROMANCE PHILOLOGY.

I feel that an apology is due for the presentation of a paper on so trite a subject as the value of the study of philology in general and of Romance Philology in particular. My only hope is that in this way I may succeed in making somewhat better known the object and value of the study and its bearing on the related sciences. In this attempt I have many illustrious foregoers, from some of whom I shall not be chary of drawing *plenis manibus*, both because of the unlikelihood of their works being accessible to all my readers and because of the weight of authority which their *ipse dixit* must carry.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory conception of the meaning of Romance Philology, its purpose and its value, let us first see what is to be understood by philology, and I think we shall agree that it is not linguistics alone, nor is it simply the study of literature, but that it is these two combined; for, as we see from the component parts of the word itself, it is clearly the love of the λόγος, which (as well as e. g. the Spanish "discurso" and "discourse" in Elizabethan English) is capable of two meanings, namely, the inward thought and the outward form by which this thought is expressed.¹ Philology is consequently a compound of literary study and of that which is strictly called glossology, which has to do simply with the phonetic phenomena resulting from the passage of the air through the vocal chords. These phenomena it is the business of the historian of a language to set forth in their chronological sequence, in order to show the changes which the language underwent in the course of its development and to confine each change to its proper territory.² Between these two functions of philology there can be no divorce. At the one extreme is the dilettant, whose desultory reading and impressions have nothing to do with scientific philological study; at the other is the mere

¹ Newman, "Idea of a University," p. 276.

² W. Meyer-Lübke, Gram. des langues romanes, Introduction; Suchier, Le Français et le Provençal (Tr. par Monet), p. 22.

grammarian, in the narrowest meaning of the word, by whom the poets are thought to have no higher office than to serve as pabulum for his linguistic ingenuity. Here, as elsewhere,

sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,

and philology fulfills its task only when it includes the minute investigation of a language or group of languages and a broad study of the contents of their works of literature,¹ or, as Professor Cook expresses the same idea, "Language is the organ of literature, and literature yields up its highest significance only to the duly qualified student of language."² The ideal philologist is such a one as Gaston Paris is described by a writer in *La Revue Bleue*: "The biography of a word charms him as the well-made biography of a man; because the history of a word is an historical document, truly human, absolutely incomparable." It tells the life of the author, of the society, of the people, and of the race by whom it was used, and is the only living remain of the past that has come down across the ages. The highest function of the philologist is the acquisition of the reproductive imagination by which we abstract ourselves from the present and become contemporaries of those whose period we study, think as they thought, feel as they felt, and judge men and things from their point of view. In short, it is to relive the life of the past, and thus, through our estimate of it as handed down to us in written documents, to interpret to the present its entire cultural history, the political, ethical, moral, aesthetic and religious ideas, the relation of the author to the society in which he lived and the relation of the literature of the time to that of other periods and of other races.³

This, then, is what we are to understand by philology—in a word, the study of humanity. From the very vastness of the field a general philology is impossible, so that we have need of special philologies, of which Romance is that one whose object and goal is the acquaintance with the intel-

¹ Prof. Alcée Fortier, 16th meeting Mod. Lang. Association, 1898; A. M. Elliott, Johns Hopkins University Circulars, March, 1891.

² The Journal of Germanic Philology, Vol. I, p. 275.

³ G. Körting, Handbuch d. romanischen Philologie, pp. 24, 26; A. S. Cook, 13th Meeting Modern Language Association.

lectual life of the Romance nations so far as it has found and still finds expression in language and in literature.¹ It examines the modifications which the Vulgar Latin underwent in the course of time in the different parts of the Roman Empire, in its organic development into the Romance or Neo-Latin Languages, which are consequently the modern phases of the colloquial speech of Rome as, conversely, this is but their earlier form. In other words, it is the study of the later vicissitudes of the Latin whose history, extending over more than two millenniums and a half, is in some respects more remarkable than that of any other language.² It thus includes the study of the various kinds of mediæval Latin, which, owing to its linguistic and literary value, must not be omitted in the scientific study of Romance Philology, for during the whole of the Middle Ages the Latin went hand in hand with the vulgar tongue and absorbed a great deal of the political, scientific, and religious learning of the times. Nor is it the literary vulgar dialects alone which deserve the attention of the romanologist—that is, those which were fortunate enough to be raised to the dignity of refined literary idioms, but even the despised patois, which, although repressed and driven into the out-of-the-way corners, are none the less deserving of careful study and often throw as much light on the family history as their more favored sisters. Romance Philology is a branch of learning of the greatest charm and highest interest, an unworked shaft of study, not yet fifty years since its scientific discovery by Frederich Diez, although from the very first there was no lack of those inquisitive enough to raise such questions as the origin of the Romance Languages, their relation to Latin and to each other.

Owing to the wealth of material which they offer in almost all the phenomena of linguistic change, the Romance Languages are of the utmost importance in the comparative and historical study of language. Hardly anywhere else is there offered the possibility of observing the natural transformation of one into several different languages and of tracing their use in

¹ Körting, *Encyclopaedie u. Methodologie der romanischen Philologie*. I, 156.

² Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 165; Gorra, *Lingue Neo-latine*, p. 1.

writing during many centuries from their first timid appearance in glossaries, translations, and other documents.

From what has been said, viz., that the Romance Languages are the organically developed modern forms of the *lingua rustica* of Rome, it follows that their study is the necessary complement of Latin philology, and that the gap which now generally exists between the ancient and modern phases of one and the same language should be bridged over by the scientific study of the Latin and its vulgar varieties of the intervening period.¹ For it is essential to the latinist to know what has become of the language he has made his specialty, how it is that Latin and French, for example, are but one and the same language under two different appearances. On the other hand it is not less obligatory on the teacher of French to have some knowledge of its origin and history, so as to be able to explain to his students at least the most salient laws which are ever at work in a language, and to illustrate the same with examples from the different stages of the language he is teaching. Grammar is no longer what it was once defined to be, "the art of speaking and writing correctly." "That old definition was deficient on two counts: it was first of all inexact and besides it was too modest, which is also a defect . . . it must enable us to understand the language of our fathers and to enjoy the works of all our writers even though they are several centuries old."² Even though the instructor have not the opportunity or the need of displaying his acquaintance with the earlier forms of the language he teaches, at any rate by knowing more than he is called upon or has occasion to teach, he will feel more secure in directing his classes and in this way will be able to impart that scientific spirit, the spirit of criticism and of methodical research into all the higher phases of the national life which is the most noble mission of higher education.³

Whoever would make a careful study of one of the Romance Languages must make himself as familiar as possible with them all in order to see the relation of one to the other and the rela-

¹Koschwitz, Anleitung zum Studium der französischen Philologie, p. 81, — Gröber, Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie I, 140.

²Brunot, Grammaire historique de la langue française. Préface.

³Paris, Le Haut Enseignement, p. 86.

tion of the whole group to their older form, the Latin. It is to be sure from the purely scientific point of view that this continual *rapprochement* of the languages and literatures which compose "Romania" is the most useful and the most fruitful. They are continually throwing light on each other to such a degree that it is impossible to examine thoroughly any one of them if one had not a familiar acquaintance with the others.¹ When, for example, the French etymologist seeks to retrace the steps by which a Latin word has passed he very often finds in the Provençal, the Italian, or the Spanish, the information which the French does not give him.² At the very least, although he would not then be fully equipped for solving the questions which will arise in his study of the language to which he has confined himself, French, let us say, at the very least, the student should include a second Romance language in his study, Italian, or better Provençal, which is to the Romance Languages very much what Gothic is to the Germanic wing, and, standing in a still closer relation to the French, being, one might almost say, her twin sister, and the first of the Neo-Latin family to arrive at a literary prominence, gives us forms which must have been the predecessors of the French, or at any rate explain their development, and is consequently of the greatest importance in the deeper study of that or any other of the Romance Languages.³ Even he who aims no higher than to acquire one of these languages for practical purposes will place his knowledge of it on a much firmer basis if it is supported by an acquaintance with the others.

As impossible as is a thorough study of one of the Romance Languages to the exclusion of the others it is no less so if one limits himself to the modern aspects of one or of all of them. It is foolish to imagine that that which now is can be fully understood without first knowing that which preceded it and conditioned its present existence and appearance. To keep to our illustration, the study of French: Old French and modern French are not two separate provinces, but are indissolubly bound together, the one explaining the other, and together

¹Paris, in "Romania," I, 22.

²Petit de Julleville, Hist. de la langue et de la littérature française, Vol. I, p. IX.

³Koschwitz, o. c., p. 81—Mahn, über das Studium der Provençalischen Sprache u. Litteratur.

they form the one great domain of French ; so that as great a mistake as it would be to suppose that old French can be understood and treated without a constant consideration of modern French, on the other hand, it would be no less idle to imagine that one can acquire a real scientific knowledge of modern French in any other way than on the foundation of a thorough study of old French.¹

What has been said of the necessity of a knowledge of the different periods of the related languages in the thorough study of any one of them is equally true in regard to the literatures of the Romance Languages, which are so closely connected by a thousand ties that "he will not be able to understand fully any one of them who does not embrace them all in his grasp, otherwise at every step we shall find ourselves before effects whose causes we are ignorant of and before causes whose effects we see only in part."² Who could estimate correctly, for example, the rise of the first Italian poetic school or the work of Guido Cavalcanti, Guido Guinicelli and the trecentisti unless he be familiar with the poetry of the Troubadours? It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one other branch of literature in which the close connection between the different languages is most clearly seen. As the classical scholar would not think of studying the Roman drama, tragic and comic, without at the same time that of the Greeks, from which it was confessedly derived, so the dramatic literature of France, Italy and Spain forms no less a single unit, which is destroyed if any of its elements be omitted. And the old French *fabliaux*, what are they but the storehouse from which, consciously or unwittingly, to mention the most prominent only, Boccaccio, Rabelais, Lafontaine and Molière drew, and which has provided situations for all *genres* of literature to this day? Then, again, it would be no more unreasonable in the political historian excepting from a course in general history the pages devoted to the Middle Ages than is the study

¹ Zeitschrift f. neufranzös. Sprache u. Literatur, Vol. III. Cf. also Koschwitz, o. c. p. 1. Wer sich darauf beschränkt, es zur Fertigkeit im Gebrauche der heutigen Sprache zu bringen und nur von den neuesten Literatur und Kulturerscheinungen Frankreichs Kenntnis zu machen, wird immer nur ein blosser Dilettant oder Techniker (sog. Sprachmeister) sein, und hat auf den Namen eines Philologen keinen Anspruch."

² Pio Rajna in "Nuova Antologia," Jan., 1878.

of ancient classic literature and of that of modern times to the utter neglect of the literature of that period which, because of our ignorance thereof, "is sometimes regarded as a chasm in the history of the human intellect." (Fr. Schlegel). A piece of literature is not an isolated phenomenon, but represents a great deal of that which went before it and influences much of that which comes after it. It is worth the while of the classical student to know what becomes of those sagas and personages that he is so familiar with from his reading: as the story of Troy made into a romantic poem of more than 30,000 verses; Alexander and the account of his adventuresome pilgrimage to Jerusalem, replete with tales which for extravagance would have put even the Baron Münchhausen to shame; the fantastic characters into which the good old Greek and Roman worthies were travestied: Aristotle a simpering lover; Vergil the wonderful enchanter able to make himself invisible at will and to turn what he pleased into gold; Æneas prinking himself before a mirror and courting Lavinia in a *salon*; Ovid the master of love, and to the simple-minded people of the Middle Ages the most learned of the Romans, whose book became the *vade-mecum* of every courtier. But why speak of some when lack of space denies my mentioning all the interesting questions which rise up in mediæval Romance important in the comparative study of literature. In fact few fields offer wider opportunities or richer material for the study of literary questions and folk-lore—the origin, growth and spread of legends, popular stories and proverbs, the history of the drama in all its varieties, the allegory, pastoral and fable. Here, too, we can observe the growth of an epic, for with *Carlemagnes a la barbe blanche* and Roland and Oliver, are we not in as heroic an age as that of the ποδῶκης Ἀχιλλεύς? As regards form as well the romanist investigates topics which have at least an indirect bearing on other lines of literary work, such as the change from the quantitative verse system of the ancients to the accentual of modern times, and the beginnings of rime and of the strophic and metrical forms employed in modern poetry; this is to be gained only from a study of the mediæval verse forms in Latin and in the vulgar tongues.

Romance Philology being the history of the languages and literatures of a group of people in an historical science and consequently of great utility to the student of history proper, for these languages and literatures have developed in closest connection with and dependence on the changing political and ecclesiastical situations in the different lands. "The history of the origins of a language is the history of the origins of the nation. To tell how modern French has been formed is to explain by what succession of revolutions, military, political, religious and literary, the French nation has been established; it is to recall from what crises its powerful unity has emerged."

Here we see for instance the causes which were at hand to make one dialect the sterling one in preference to another, as that of the Ile de France in France, the Tuscan in Italy, and the Castilian in Spain. For those who intend to study the political history of any or of all the Latin races the older monuments of their literature must serve as sources, the *chansons de geste*, a rudimentary form of history, charters, memoirs and literature proper, as well as the works of such professed historiographers and biographers as Villehardouin, Joinville and Commynes, who, as eye-witnesses of the events they narrate, are for the most part trustworthy informants on the laws, politics, diplomacy, institutions, wars and rulers not only of their native lands but even of such far-removed countries as Ireland and Palestine. The churchman too will find here an abundance of information on the history of the Church and untouched material in the popular lives and miracles of the saints, sermons and pious stories which are to be found in large numbers in the earlier periods of all the Romance literatures.² To borrow from the article already quoted³ "one must be a philologist in order to be a philosopher, and above all the philosophy of history is all complete in philology, provided, however, that we extract it."

I shall simply allude in passing to the bearing which Romance Philology has, in equal degree with the other philologies, sometimes to a greater degree, on other sciences, as ethnology, political, physical and historical geography and

¹Aubertin, *Hist. de la langue et de la litt. française au moyen âge*. Préface.

²G. Paris, *La litt. française au moyen âge*. P. 196.

³La Revue Bleue.

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statistics, in consideration of the racial characteristics, dispersion, habitat and number of the persons by whom these languages are spoken; on physiology and acoustics in view of the sounds and the speech organs employed in their production; on logic and psychology in the study of the order of words and in the taste for psychological analysis in which French literature has excelled at all times.¹ It throws a flood of light on mediæval art and music and on the history of the natural sciences, as shown in the *lapidaires*, *bestiaires*, *images* and *miroirs du monde*, *mappemonde* and *chastiments*, the encyclopedias of the Middle Ages on all subjects that one can know anything about and on a good many others. In a word, Romance Philology is by no means the least important of those sciences which together make up the one great *Wissenschaftseinheit*, psychical anthropology.²

But it is above all the knowledge of the life of the past which we acquire from the study of Romance Philology that gives it its greatest value and its greatest charm. It cannot be denied that the older phases of the literature of the Romance nations render inappreciable service to the study of the customs, manners, the whole private life of the time at which they are written. There can be nothing more delightful than to compare the circumstances of the present with those of the past, to see in what we have improved and in what we are inferior, and this information is nowhere to be found so vividly expressed as in language and literature, which after all are the most immediate and the most collective expression of the interior life of a people. The study of the literature of this transitional era gives us a synthesis or picture of the moral status and mental peculiarities, the joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, of that most interesting period of all history, when men were at the parting between the past and the future, the old and the new, "the Middle Ages, which used to be called ages of darkness, rudeness, barbarity, 'the millennium of darkness,' as one writer calls them, but it is universally

¹ "Le moyen âge a même poussé si loin son amour de l'analyse des "états d'âme" qu'il a fini par la dégager de tout support individuel, et qu'il a créé, dans le *Roman de la Rose*, ce qu'on a pu appeler l'épopée psychologique." Petit de Julleville o. c., Vol. I, préface.

² Körtling, Handbuch der Rom. Phil. p. 33. Gröber, Grundriss der Rom. Phil. I, 154.

apparent now that these ages are not to be so called,"¹ ages worthy of perpetual remembrance, in which not only the modern states were taking form, but all our beliefs and general way of existence were shaping themselves. This information is to be had not only in those remarkable works which will ever hold a prominent place among the world's best books, but also in the childlike productions of the common people, their cradle songs, pious, love, and crusade songs, and other forms too numerous to mention, which call up the daily life and morals of the time, the ruling currents, ideas, beliefs, and superstitions. Here, too, we can get the best idea of the lives and characters of the lords and vassals, the Church and the clergy, women and poets, physicians and lawyers, the celebration of feasts, the institutions of chivalry and knighthood, and crusades and pilgrimages, and the disputes between the universities and the orders. Villemain, speaking of the *tenzos* and *sirventes* of the Troubadours, well says: "Provençal poetry was, so to speak, the liberty of the press of feudal times, a liberty more violent, more fearless, and less checked than ours."² By amalgamating the scattered touches we shall have a composite picture of the turbulent and picturesque humanity of the Middle Ages more true to life and more brilliant than is to be obtained in any other way.

The study of Romance Philology is very valuable for the history of Germanic Philology,³ and particularly to the student of English. For three hundred years England was the seat of an important branch of the French linguistic territory in the Anglo-Norman, which, from the conquest by Duke William and his followers until the fourteenth century, remained the official and literary language of the royalty and aristocracy, and for a long time threatened to stifle the Anglo-Saxon, with which however it mingled so thoroughly that almost one-half the English lexique is composed of words of French descent. It is sufficient to mention Chaucer and Spenser to remind one of the indebtedness of English literature to old French and Italian, and there never was a time when English

¹ Carlyle., *Lectures on Literature*. Lecture IV.

² Cf. also *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1879, pp. 647-8; Adolph Tobler, "Romanische Philologie an den deutschen Universitäten," pp. 166, 168.

³ Diez, *Grammatik d. romanischen Sprachen*, French ed. I, 55.

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poets did not visit the continent and return laden with poetic spoils, so that, whether from the linguistic or from the literary point of view, the study of English is inseparable from that of the Romance Languages and Literatures,¹ and this fact is so far recognized in some of our universities that students of English are strongly advised, if not required, to follow courses in old French. This is not the place to speak of the commercial value of the Romance Languages or of the mental training to be acquired from their study, in which they are probably neither superior nor inferior to other languages, or of their value in the formation of a good command over one's vernacular.² We all know that the study of language exercises the judgment, since to translate is to reflect, and he who studies a language studies at the same time the thought; when he progresses in the one he will have progressed in the other.

Here in America a whole series of interesting linguistic phenomena is working out. During the fiscal year, 1898-99, more than 84,000 modern Latins of Europe landed on our shores. It is nothing less than a duty to make ourselves acquainted with the traditions and inclinations of these elements which form so large a part of the body politic of the United States. This can in no way be better done than through the study of the languages and literatures in which they find expression. Our new international relations and the paramount part which the Romance Languages play in North, Central and South America bring the duty still stronger upon us. The literature of the Romance nations, especially during the Middle Ages, may be said to be pre-eminently Catholic; it is therefore important that the study of Romance Philology should not be neglected by Catholics, and for this reason, if for no other, it deserves the especial attention of a Catholic University. If we may measure the importance to be given to Romance Philology by that which is to be given to the Romance nations in the development of civilization during the Middle Ages and in modern times it is surely of the highest.³ While not by any

¹ Romania I, 19.

² Cf. Goethe's verse "Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss Nichts von seiner eigenen."

³ "Malgré l'influence considérable, et même salutaire, de l'élément germanique dans la constitution du monde moderne, la civilisation de l'Europe est essentiellement fille de la civilisation romaine, comme le Christianisme a été transmis au monde moderne par le monde romain." G. Paris in "Romania" I, 20.

means excluding from the province of Romance Philology the modern phases of the literature of the Romance Languages, indeed I think I have shown that the study would be incomplete should they be omitted, it is nevertheless true that the works produced during those ages in which faith predominated, in the first flush of youth, so rude, wild and full of vigor, give a certain *sursum corda* and serve as an antidote to the filthiness of contemporary realism "which seem to have taken up as its mission the excitement of all low instincts and the abasing of all high aspirations."¹

If the purpose of the teaching of languages, ancient and modern, in our colleges is, as it should be, not merely mental training, which will come of itself, and is, besides, acquired much more directly from the study of the exact sciences, but to educate along historical, literary, and aesthetic lines, then one of the chief means and aids to this end is undoubtedly the study of the Romance Languages in which there exists the greatest number of masterpieces, and which at the same time possess the most original and novel spirit.² To train men capable of conducting their college classes with this end in view and of occasionally engaging in investigations requiring original research is, it seems to me, the primary aim of university instruction in Romance Philology. Its purpose is surely a high and noble one. Prof. Francis March somewhere remarks that the philological study of literature seems next in honor to the creation of literature. Although it may not be within the power of all of us to reach to the ideal, each devotee in his humble capacity will rejoice in feeling his personal importance as a co-worker in the upbuilding of the temple of science.

J. JOSEPH DUNN.

¹Paris. Le Haut Enseignement, p. 40.—L. Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland*, Preface; *España Moderna*, Sept., '98.

²"Je crois donc que la littérature française classique—et en particulier celle du siècle de Louis XIV—a des qualités ou des vertus éducatrices tout à fait singulières, analogues à celles de la sculpture grecque ou de la grande peinture italienne dans l'histoire de l'art . . . elle est d'abord la plus humaine qu'il y ait jamais eue sans même peut-être excepter la littérature latine."—F. Brunetière in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1891.

THE ACADEMIC SPIRIT.¹

The Book of Wisdom, Chapter VII, verses 17 to 25, contains explicitly a number of details regarding profane knowledge and the moral and intellectual effects of its possession; it contains implicitly the principle that profane knowledge has a definite moral value. The exact meaning of the words of the text is a matter of some question; the import of the principle is perfectly clear. The latter, then, may aptly be taken as the introductory thought in the study of the Academic Spirit offered as the annual sermon marking the termination of the academic year. That learning has a moral value, no one may question; but since this study aims to show the spiritual and religious value of the Academic Spirit, it seemed only appropriate to take its introductory thought from the inspired word.

When a number of individuals are associated for a common purpose, their activity is directed with more or less uniformity; the means and the methods employed are largely identical. From this there results a sympathy, a community of interest, a sameness in tone, thought and temperament, which mark the members unmistakably. This something in social groups—so like an atmosphere permeating everywhere with definite elements in its composition—is termed the group spirit. We readily recognize the Catholic spirit, the American spirit, the party spirit. Individuals who enter social groups may go through the formality of initiation in a moment, but they share the spirit of the group only after long association has engendered it. Even those who constitute the group share its spirit in varying degrees. There may be Catholics who possess an un-Catholic spirit just as there may be citizens of our republic who are un-American in spirit.

The power of the group spirit depends practically on the importance of the group purpose and the strength of the bond

¹ The annual Baccalaureate Sermon preached in the chapel of the University, June 3, 1900.

uniting the members. Thus the spirit of a literary club is not as powerful or enduring as that of a religious congregation.

A university is a social group; its purpose is solemn, vital. The University should therefore possess a spirit; an academic group must have an academic spirit. There is neither endurance nor achievement nor success for universities which have not the university spirit. What, then, is this spirit?

The reply need not be exhaustive. Possibly no two would analyze it in precisely the same manner. Hence the answer need not be more than suggestive; the detailed working out may with profit be left to individual effort.

The purpose of any university ought to be the single and simple service of truth. Conceptions of the nature of truth may vary; views of the exact function of the university will differ; its secondary purposes may be disputed; yet in last analysis the true university can have no other mission than to serve truth; to add to knowledge, to disseminate knowledge, to train and to encourage the best minds to love truth and serve it. Men come to universities to teach truth or to search for it; men come to be taught truth and to master the methods of seeking it; men and women, and even states, make generous endowments for the sake of truth. Thus, universities exist for truth. The basic element in their spirit—we may term it the academic spirit—must be *truthfulness* or its equivalent, *intellectual honesty*. Truth, knowledge, must be loved; it must be promoted; it must be defended against error, misrepresentation, degradation. The deep devotion to truth must be everywhere in and about universities. It will reveal itself in the teacher by his directness, courage, zeal, and inspiration; by his purity of motive and simplicity; it will reveal itself in the student by his eager desire to master honestly and thoroughly the methods and details of scholarship, seeking only the scholar's reward. This love of truth must then generate the sense of intellectual honesty, delicate, penetrating, true, which will protect a university and its members against the forms of intellectual dishonesty that constantly seek to establish themselves wherever they may. Self will never be preferred to truth nor substituted for it; every form of intellectual selfishness must vanish like mist before the

sunlight. That form called prejudice, that form called partisanship; that form called egotism, that form called merely selfishness—all must vanish where truth is loved simply and singly, purely and without regard to self, party or reputation. Again, true universities must depend on this sense of intellectual honesty to protect themselves against every form of sham and pretense. It destroys institutional sham wherein unacademic methods, insincere standards, unblushing pretense and even conscious incapacity establish themselves, and once established are with difficulty overcome. Probably no university ever opened its doors but that sham in some form knocked for admission; probably no university council ever began its labors without a battle with unacademic motives which sought to win recognition. Against this danger—and the danger is constant, the strong deep sense of intellectual honesty is the only safeguard. If this sense be in a university, no matter where error, sham and materialism rear their hydra-heads they must perish. The university exists for truth; for truth alone; it must love it, protect it; the academic spirit must therefore rest on love of truth and its eternal companion—intellectual honesty.

Next, it may be said that the sense of *Reverence for truth* is an element of the Academic Spirit. This is practically implied in the foregoing. The cause of truth is holy; it is vital; it is from God; all creation is out of harmony when error exists; the superb possibilities of human life are unrealized where ignorance is found. What then is greater or grander than to make truth reign by mastering it, by protecting it, by teaching it? If the cause is sacred, it merits our reverence: a reverence which will sustain our attitude of noble devotion, which will measure our standards, determine our aims, fix our ideals and protect us against frauds. Reverence for the truth and that alone can adequately protect a university against the tricks of competitive education which the unloving and irreverent introduce and employ in the academic world; it alone will sustain standards at their high level—away from the vile commercialism which threatens; it alone will protect a university against the unacademic demands of mercenary times and the shortsighted appeals of a practical age. When the teacher reverences truth, it is safe; when the student

reveres it, it thrives. For, noble, grand and mighty, it uplifts all to its own level, sends out inspiration, effort, hope to reward incomparably, all who revere it for its own intrinsic beauty. One who has felt the divine thrill will never imagine that truth is less noble or less great than he; reverence is possible, only when one so believes.

A third element in the academic spirit may be called, the sense of *Responsibility to Truth*. The cause is sacred; universities are its strongholds. Picked men teach in universities, men tested by a severe and merciless process of selection which when unhindered allows but the tried and true to remain; picked men study in universities, chosen by a similar process; chosen not for what they are so much as for the promise of *growth* which they give; great-hearted men and women and wise states endow universities that these picked men may teach, and these picked men may study, and grow and become the servants of Truth. Opportunity everywhere—university—opportunity—words all but synonyms; opportunity unsurpassed. They who enter universities accept these opportunities and they are under sacred, unwritten contract with knowledge or truth, to use them well. The sense of responsibility then must be deep, solid, active; it must strengthen every motive which inspires, encourage every energy that flags, engender zeal, devotedness, endurance. There may be no laziness, no loafing, no idleness in universities. If men wander into them and feel none of the inspiration that comes out from every corner; if men are within reach of these unparalleled opportunities and stretch forth no eager hand to seize them; if, I repeat, any regrettable chance have brought such within the sacred walls of any great school, let them depart; for the sake of truth and conscience, they should go. They have a mission in the world—perhaps a high and noble mission there—but they have none in a university, none for which a university can fit them. In a university they nullify opportunity, cheat noble purpose, endanger traditions, and demoralize mental discipline. What is here criticised is a *moral quality*, not *intellectual endowment*. I am optimist enough to believe that any earnest man can be benefitted and can be of benefit in any university, but I am pessimist enough to think that a lazy, inert man can only harm a school, no matter what his genius.

Another element in the academic spirit is the *Sense of Limitations*. University men must recognize that sciences are partial views of reality; that all views are merely points of view, neither exclusive nor comprehensive; that any calculation may err, and that the noblest and bravest and best may be deceived. Hence the scholar recognizes his limitations, the probability of error in his positions, of fault in his judgments. He is therefore tolerant; never unduly aggressive nor unreasonably narrow; he is diffident of himself and confident of others as far as prudence allows. He will not confuse personality with principle, neither in his motives of action nor in the attitudes which he takes. Truth needs such a spirit in her servants—she can tolerate no other; any other is the product of selfishness or ignorance.

To conclude the analysis, we may say that *Loyalty* to a University is an important element in the academic spirit. Loyalty to its ideals, its purposes; loyalty to itself as an institution. If truth is sacred, universities are sacred; if men are finite, universities are fallible. On their fallibility rests the need of genuine loyalty—the loyalty that loves and serves, it knows not why. No matter how old or how young, how strong or how weak, may be the university, it lives of the loyalty of its members—and it lives of that loyalty alone. It thrives and is mighty only when sympathies, efforts and hopes come up from all sides, from teacher and student, without exception. Helpful suggestion must be abundant, useless criticism unknown; kindly patience always, nervous censure never. The university is more than its individual members, but it is not more than they make it.

Not inaptly might all that has been said be reduced to this simple thought: the academic spirit makes duty to truth the pole-star of academic life; it suppresses all forms of selfishness and purifies motives, because it places the center of thought and life in truth and outside of self.

As secondary elements in the academic spirit, we might mention methods of work, methods which are most conducive to safe and efficient service of truth. This spirit requires that men be thorough, accurate, patient. By thoroughness is meant attention to detail, the doing of things with attention and com-

pletely—great things and small things. By accuracy is meant direct intellectual vision—the nice adjustment of statement to thought, habitual discrimination between what we do know and what we do not know, between blind feeling and intelligent conviction, between what we see and what we imagine. By patience is meant the firm control of self in research, calm adaptation of methods to objects of study and quiet waiting for results, counting no effort lost when honestly made, no effort too exacting when the service of truth demands it. Thus the methods fostered by the Academic Spirit are merely forms of self-discipline, conscious and purposeful self-assertion coupled with self-forgetfulness—all in the love and service of truth.

A university without some sort of a spirit is an impossibility; a university with a false, unacademic spirit, wherein there are no standards, no high sense of noble mission and fidelity to it, is worse than treason to the holiest of causes. Only when the spirit of the university is noble, strong, constant, and such as here hinted at—only then does the true university exist. A school may issue annual catalogues; it may have hundreds of teachers and thousands of students; it may organize expeditions and explore unknown regions—it is not thereby a true university. Nor can it become one until animated by the divinely-intended spirit. The great, grand purpose of the school must be like a guiding light before every teacher and student; the organic relation of that purpose to human life must be understood. Then there may be no isolated acting, working or thinking. All must be organic—co-ordination and subordination are as necessary to a university as to an organism. The crushing force of the marshalled army, the prestige and strength of the far-reaching empire, the soul-inspiring harmony of the balanced orchestra, the life and power of universities to serve truth—to protect and exalt it—all these alike depend forever on the surrender of the individual to the principle of organic unity. It takes tremendous moral effort to realize this and live up to it. The specialist is apt to be an individualist; he is inclined to ignore larger relations. The work of upbuilding the Academic Spirit, then, is

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not easy ; giants might expend gigantic moral powers ere it were well done. Struggle is needed ; heroism, thoughtfulness, unselfishness, sacrifice—these are the elements in its composition. But when formed, what a power ! It seizes the student in its strong but gentle grasp, destroys everything unbecoming, and quickly reforms him, till he stands the worthy champion of truth—manly, high-minded, learned.

Brilliant individuals, thinkers as such, never made a university and never can by mere individual intellectuality. Their learning, unaccompanied by noble character, matured manhood and right conceptions of the moral purpose of life and of the university were little less than useless in creating an ideal university, one which should be such a camp as Truth would choose in which to train and equip her young warriors for the battlefield of life. Hence no true university man will ever feel one half as proud of his individual contributions to science as he will of his contributions to the formation of solid, right university traditions, and the establishment of a true academic spirit which will endure in full proportions when he and his science are mere points in the vanishing perspective of life.

The thought drawn from the passage in the Book of Wisdom was that learning possesses a definite moral value. In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we find it stated that the fear of the Lord is the religiousness of knowledge which shall keep and justify the heart and give joy and gladness. May not the academic spirit—directly derived from knowledge and from man's relation to it—may not the academic spirit have a "religiousness which shall keep and justify the heart"—may it not possess a moral and religious value ?

We are, in our individual nature, organically one. There are subordination and coördination in the processes of our being ; unity of purpose in life, substantial union of soul and body ; hence, endless reciprocal relations of parts. Body affects mind and mind in turn influences body ; the intellectual and the spiritual yield very extensively to each other's influence. An impulsive man is not a judicious thinker ; an emotional man is not an accurate observer ; a selfish man is

not objective; a prejudiced man is not always honest in his positions. Scripture tells us that an envious man shall not be a partaker of wisdom. On the other hand mental traits affect spiritual life directly and perceptibly. A mind given to chronic doubt never creates a decisive moral character, marked by directness, stability and prudent self-confidence; minds habitually inattentive to details are not exact in questions of conscience or spiritual life; minds unable to judge things except in relation to self are incapable of much moral self-sacrifice or self-denial undertaken for pure spiritual motives. If intellect is as a lamp to will, if mind is guide of soul, it cannot be otherwise.

Nevertheless, we do find a paradoxical situation among scholars—or if you will—university men in general. The intellectual and the spiritual seem to be removed very largely from each other's influence. How often do we not discover that we know much about "the disposition of the whole world and the virtues of the elements—the beginning and the ending and the midst of times; the alterations of their courses, and the change of seasons; the revolutions of the year and the disposition of the stars; the natures of living creatures," without possessing, because of that knowledge, the moral qualities, enumerated in the second portion of the passage. How often do we not find that intellectual life is positive, aggressive, active—full of plan, ambition; direct and conscious and progressive! while spiritual life is passive, stationary; effort is merely preservative—no plan, no ambition, no ideals, no consecutive effort, and consequently no growth. If that be the case—and as far as it is the case—here must be placed the great moral and religious value of the academic spirit. It should introduce into soul life, into the work of personal sanctification, the very elements most needed.

The academic spirit is itself nine-tenths *moral* and *spiritual*. Where it exists, undisturbed and pure, the ordinary shortcomings of life must perish. In that atmosphere, they can not endure. It emancipates us from self—that self which in myriad ways is the bane of the soul—that self to the undue love of which St. Thomas traces all sin. It purifies motives

and predisposes us to such as are noble and pure. The academic spirit should inculcate calm self-control, control of impulses, of emotions, of inclinations to which may be traced half the sin and most of the imperfections of spiritual life. Through the academic spirit we grow accustomed to the careful, honest formation of judgments in which no logical step is omitted or wrongly made. Conscience is merely a practical judgment which when carefully formed, directs soul life just as God our Father wills it. Why should that spirit not bring calmness in temptation, discretion in doubt? Should not the scholar's toleration be the twin sister of the charity of the child of God? Should not justice, humility, contrition, be strengthened and enlightened by intellectual honesty as naturally and as beautifully as the flowers by the sun?

Far be it from me to wish to confound the natural and the supernatural—the intellectual and the spiritual—the motives of scholarship and the motives of sanctity. I speak of the service that the ideal academic spirit can render to soul life. The relation of the soul to God—the work of personal sanctification—the virtues, supernatural and natural, all have their distinct proper places, and the academic spirit may not usurp any such place. It is here thought of and described as a secondary agent, powerful yet secondary. It is useless to attempt to explain in detail the nature of this relation. No presentation would appear cogent or complete. At least, the details of the relation are not very clear to my own mind. The value of the academic spirit to us spiritually will depend on individual temperament, the accidents and circumstances of life and environment and the sets of motives which actually dominate in us. Hence it seems best to emphasize only the general thought and leave detailed application to the individual. Of this we may be certain—the academic spirit has the greatest moral and religious value. But that value will not be actual unless we make conscious and constant effort to realize the organic law of our being; unless we habituate ourselves to applying in the details of spiritual life the traits and methods which we seek and love as scholars. Without that effort, we shall be little benefited; while we thrive in

mind, we shall warp in soul ; while we grow great before men, we shall become small before God ; while men applaud, angels will look on in sorrow and weep. "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul ? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul ?"

What has been said may be applied to any university, to any one in a university provided he believe in God and immortality. There is, however, a something in this university which is distinctive. It is Catholic. It boasts none other than the Holy Father as its founder. Bishops of the Church are numerous among its directors ; a Cardinal is its Chancellor. Its constitution tells us that the purpose of the University shall ever be to afford to the youth of our country an opportunity for pursuing higher studies in the most important branches of learning under the inspiration of Catholic truth. The university shall honor the Roman Pontiff as the Supreme Ruler and Teacher of the Catholic Church, and shall ever adhere unwaveringly to his apostolic authority as the safest norm for the attainment of truth. Then the Academic Spirit here must contain another element—Catholicity. That we must be individually Catholic is evident. We are called upon to show in blameless lives, noble motives and practical virtue, the splendid proportions of Catholic manhood and Catholic priesthood. But that is far from sufficient. We must be collectively Catholic. The spirit of plenary Faith—deep, learned, progressive, must permeate every tradition, influence every institution, animate every process in the university. It must be the distinctive note of our Academic Spirit—and that spirit should be purer, grander, stronger, *because of its Catholicity*. Our tone and temperament, our points of view, our attitudes and sympathies, all should reveal unmistakably this essential element. Every individual officially related to the academic work of this university—teacher and student—every one of us accepts a sacred trust from the Church. She confides unreservedly in our individual integrity, in our character, in our ability to do or to grow into the power of doing true university work under the inspiration of faith ; she confides in us to the extent

of hoping that we will be unselfish and loyal, co-operating generously till the university become what she expects it to be—the home of science and the bulwark of Catholicity in the new world. Faith and science must flourish here, each resplendent in the other's light.

Spontaneous generation will never bring this about. Conscientious care, methodical effort, systematic co-operation—they alone will give us the tone of collective Catholicity; they alone will place the element of Catholicity in our Academic Spirit and make it productive.

When the Church laid out these foundations she peered deep into the future to take her measurements. She did not build for to-day. She, therefore, set a purpose far beyond us of to-day to achieve; we can only commence. But we must live and think and act under the consciousness that we build for the future. We must forget everything except that the university belongs to the future and that we are *parts* of the university; we belong to it; otherwise, we belong not here at all. Whether or not the university shall some day rise to the proportions in which the Church conceived it—the proportions in which she planned and began it—all that depends entirely, under God, on you and on me; on administration; on teacher; on student. That helpless future looks out to us and speaks in no doubtful tones; tells us what it begs of us to-day. The distinct creation asked of us—the priceless treasure which we can in part originate and establish here and now—is a great, noble, and mighty Catholic Academic Spirit. That we can establish—that we can bequeath to the trembling, expectant future. And this we must do. Unless we do it this great institution, so wisely planned and so hopefully begun, will go down in ruin or live—a mockery and a shadow. But there is no fear. The work is well and grandly under way. Let it, then, go down among the traditions of the university that in its young days all loved it and were loyal to it; that no teacher ever swerved from his simple devotion to truth, his reverence for it, his sense of responsibility to it; that no teacher failed to be the exemplar of what is noble and pure in faith; that no student came without feeling inspired

to mighty efforts, pure life, and ceaseless attachment to his Alma Mater and his Church. Let it go down in our traditions that we lived for our university and worked for it; that we never hesitated at any sacrifice for it, at any labor which its welfare invited. With such a spirit and such traditions the university will be strong enough and one day great enough to realize the fondest hopes cherished for it. Let us do our work well to-day and the future is safe. There is glory in the opportunity.

WM. J. KERBY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Les Grand Traités du règne de Louis XIV publiés par Henri Vast.
Vol. III. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8° pp. 220.

Louis the Fourteenth's ambitious projects for a Greater France have left their traces in a long series of European treaties that belong to his reign, and are yet one of the bases of public order on the continent, despite the transformation of its political map by Napoleon Bonaparte and the modifications of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this third "fascicule" of the work of M. Vast, he offers to the reader the original texts of the several treaties of Utrecht (1713-1714), by which the War of the Spanish Succession was brought to a disastrous close for the Sun-King, and the domestic conditions inaugurated that were to culminate in the French Revolution. The principal treaty is that with England, signed March 31 (new style, April 11), 1713. Its text is in French, as are the other treaties with Portugal, Savoy, and the States-General. That with Prussia, to the great mortification of Louis, who did not admit that Frederic William I. was his equal, was drawn up (for Prussia) in Latin. Two other treaties, Rastadt (March 6, 1714), and Baden (September 7, 1714), settled the relations of France and the Empire. In a luminous introduction, M. Vast resumes the great events that led to the wars ended by these treaties, the purposes of the French king, the operations of all Europe coalesced against him, the failure of the French arms, the long opposition of Holland to any peace that did not consecrate all the ambitions of that nation. These treaties are now accessible in a handy and reliable form; we do not need to go to such a classic as Dumont, who has printed the treaties of a thousand years in his "*Corps Universel Diplomatique*" (1726-1739, 13 vols. in folio) or to the more serviceable collection of Martens (*Recueil des Principaux Traités*, etc., 1761-1888, 70 vols., 8°). For the treaties in question one may read with profit Gérard, "*The Peace of Utrecht*," New York, 1835, Grimblot, "*Letters of William III and Louis XIV*," (London, 1848), and Baudrillart "*Philippe V, et la Cour de France de 1700 à 1715*," (Paris, 1889); also the "*Repertoire de l'Histoire Diplomatique d'Europe depuis le Congrès de Westphalie jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht*" (1648-1713), in the "*Annales de l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques*" (Jan., 1890). It is interesting to note with what tenacity the merchant-interests of France fought for the rights they now enjoy in the matter of the New-

foundland fisheries. Had not the people of England grown tired of the war, their rights might not have been secured without another trial of arms; it was not, therefore, lightly or without regret that the present situation was created by England. It was Nicholas le Bailliff (Le Mesnager), whose pen and tongue secured this minimum of advantages for his native country. "*L'Europe entière*," said he, in his '*Réflexions générales sur l'état de la négociation en Angleterre*,' croirait perdre son bien en perdant le commerce d'Amérique. Personne ne douterait de cette perte, ne pouvant plus faire ce commerce par l'entremise des Espagnols, dépositaires de toutes les nations, s'il se faisait directement, par les Anglais." Such a volume as this might well be in the hands of the teachers of advanced classes in political history; it awakes no little interest in the mind of an intelligent youth when he is shown and made to read some of the great documents on which nations yet base their mutual relations; when he touches, as it were, the results of vaulting ambition, treason, shortsightedness and oppression.

T. J. S.

Daniel O'Connell, Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre. By L. Nemours Godré (2d ed.)
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, pp. viii — 396.

The appearance in a second edition of a *Life of O'Connell* in French is a fresh tribute to the memory of the great Liberator, a proof of the yet abiding interest in that majestic figure of Irish history.

O'Connell's fame is not confined to the limits of his native isle; its heralds are as numerous as the scattered sons of Erin. It is treasured and sung in every clime wherever those wandering pilgrims have found rest and a home. It has leaped the bounds of nationality and finds an echo in the hearts of all who love liberty, religious, civil and political,—who cherish faithfully the memory of the heroes who have done battle in her cause. Such a one was O'Connell; and in an age like ours which boasts of unprecedented growth in the enjoyment of liberty and its attendant blessings, we gladly welcome this new evidence of the immortality of one who was willing to spend and be spent that his country might be free.

O'Connell was born August 6, 1775. In this year so eventful in the annals of liberty for one portion of the English people, the condition of her Irish Catholic subjects was indeed wretched and abject. They were groaning under the full weight of those religious, civil and political disabilities which had been forced on them by a perfidious conqueror despite the pledged faith of a solemn treaty. M. Godré does well to present by way of introduction a summary of this iniquitous legislation of the

Penal Code. It acts as the dark background against which the efforts of the Irish Catholics and especially the labors of the great Agitator can be most clearly seen and appreciated.

On this night of dark injustice appear eventually the glimmerings of a dawn. A great national movement arises in Ireland. A spark from the torch of liberty then flaming across the seas has fallen upon the nation's heart; antagonisms melt away and Catholics and Protestants unite in the common cause of Irish autonomy. Certain civil rights are restored to the almost outlawed Catholic, but not even the generous efforts of a Grattan can prevail on the "Protestant Ascendancy" to relinquish their claim to exclusive political power and representation.

O'Connell's early education was received at Cork. In 1792 we find him at Saint Omer's and later at Douay, until the events of 1793 made it an unsafe residence for English students. The excesses of French republican principles which he here witnessed made him forever an avowed enemy of violent, sanguinary measures for the redress of popular grievances—he had yet to witness the little less terrible crimes which the abuse of authority, in its turn, can occasion. A further relaxation of the penal code in 1793 enabled him to begin his career of law in London. In spite of the barriers which yet shut him out from a position of eminence in his chosen pursuit, his ambition to excel in his profession was very ardent. While in London he was a frequent visitor at the House of Commons, where Fox and Pitt were then commanding universal attention. The oratorical style of Pitt captivated him, and supplied a model for his own future political career. Called to the bar in 1798, he remained in London during the stirring events of that memorable year. Though he deprecated, on principle, any resort to armed measures, from which he could foresee naught but disaster, his natural impetuosity exposed him to no little danger.

The horrors of armed rebellion were soon succeeded by violent agitation consequent on the passing of the Act of Union, that masterstroke of England's iniquitous policy toward the sister isle. This discussion was the occasion of O'Connell's first appearance in political life. It had been a part of England's astute policy to represent the Irish Catholics as friendly to the Union. However true this may have been of some of the conservative or too confiding nobility and clergy, it was a libel on the vast mass of Catholics. A meeting was called to protest publicly and solemnly against this treasonable imputation. O'Connell was the leading orator. He had found his destiny. Henceforth agitation, eternal protest, was to be his watchword against English aggrandizement on the one hand and against Protestant intolerance on the other. The Union, however, was carried June 7, 1800, and Ireland expired as

a nation. There was yet left, however, the promise of emancipation made by Pitt. In 1804 a delegation of Catholics reminded him of his pledge, but obstacles "from a certain quarter" prevented him from making it good. Pitt's conduct on this occasion has been variously appreciated. The mental weakness of George III and his violent opposition to emancipation on fancied grounds of conscience may be urged in extenuation; but the disagreeable fact remains that he later consented to assume control of affairs on the express condition of never again raising the issue of emancipation. Was it expediency, then, and not justice that first induced him to support this measure?

Before O'Connell's advent into public life, the policy of the Irish Catholic party had been either that of patient resignation and hope, or, at most, that of mild and respectful appeal for redress. O'Connell, however, advocated the stronger though yet lawful measure of public agitation; the people, wearied with the futility of the former policies, readily seconded his views. Henceforth he was the recognized leader of the Irish Catholic body.

A union of interests was now projected between the Catholics and Protestants in opposition to the Union. Scarcely, however, had this auspicious national movement begun, when, by reason of the King's hopeless insanity, his eldest son assumed the regency; as the Prince of Wales he had frequently given assurance of his good will toward the Catholic claims; as regent, however, he not only forgot his promises, but at the instance of his courtiers, enacted a number of repressive measures. An attempt was made to suppress the Catholic Committee by legal means; this failing, force was resorted to and a projected meeting was dispersed, not, however, without violent protest on the part of O'Connell.

In the meantime another question preliminary to emancipation had been agitating and dividing men's minds. It was the famous privilege of Veto, by which Government was to be empowered to reject a candidate for a bishopric on the score of disloyalty. This was proposed in 1799 as a condition for emancipation and was accepted by ten bishops connected with Maynooth. Revived later, it was resisted by the people as tending to compromise the dignity of the Church and destroy the confidence reposed in their bishops. The episcopacy, in 1808, condemned the odious measure. The vetoists had recourse to Rome. A rescript came from Mgr. Quarantotti authorizing the clause; but it found few supporters, and was unanimously rejected by the Catholic Committee in 1813. The bill of emancipation, however, even with this restriction, failed to pass the House of Commons. On his return from his French captivity, in 1815, Pius VII., instead of repudiating the action of his vicar, Quarantotti, as the Irish fondly hoped, renewed his approbation of

the Veto; still the clergy and people at large maintained their opposition. The matter finally dropped, but by sowing discord it had served to retard the movement for emancipation.

With the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the power of France was crushed. England, relieved at length from the constant dread of invasion, was enabled to pursue her favorite policy of coercion in Ireland. The Catholic Bureau was suppressed in spite of loud protests from the Catholic body. The hated Irish constabulary was created by Peel to overawe or beat down all opposition. Added to the divisions already existing, these hostile measures reduced the Catholic cause to a low ebb; agitation itself seemed dead from the very lack of the funds necessary to secure a place of assembly. Only O'Connell's sovereign hopefulness and untiring energy could have tided the sacred cause over this slough of despond, and brought back vitality when life seemed to have fled. Hope sprang up afresh on the occasion of a friendly demonstration from the liberal Protestants of Dublin; Mr. Plunkett again brought the bill before Parliament; it passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. In this year occurred the King's visit to Ireland. The enthusiastic reception accorded by all classes highly gratified him; his heart warmed toward this loyal people, and grieved for their misfortunes; he promised them relief—yet he became later on the unyielding foe of justice to the oppressed Catholics.

In the meantime O'Connell was busy with his plans for agitation. In 1823 he formed, in spite of much opposition, what was known as the Catholic Association, to enlist in support of emancipation all classes in every part of Ireland. Famine and coercive laws crippled its labors for several years. It was at length started after heroic efforts on his part and straightway became a mighty power in the land. The government sought to paralyze this strong popular movement by the arrest of O'Connell on a charge of sedition; failing in this it attacked the association. A bill was introduced into Parliament demanding its suppression. A deputation, including Shiel and O'Connell, was sent to London to plead for the proscribed association and to present the Catholic claims before the English public. The organization, however, was suppressed. Yet the effect produced on the public mind of England was surprising; monster meetings were held, and new supporters were daily gained in Parliament itself. The government seemed at length to become reconciled. The bill was again introduced and passed the second reading. Catholic Ireland rejoiced at the prospect of speedy deliverance, when the cup of hope was rudely dashed from her lips. The Duke of York protested against the measure in the name of the "Protestant Supremacy." Religious intolerance prevailed and the bill was again rejected by the

Lords. But the struggle began afresh; meetings, local or provincial, were held constantly in every part of the land, and from each there went forth the same demands for freemen's rights. The administration was powerless; all its plans were checkmated by the shrewdness and legal learning of O'Connell.

In 1826 came the uprising of the Waterford tenantry against the political dictation of the powerful family of the Beresfords. Under the burning appeals of O'Connell they were aroused from their old lethargy, and though utterly dependent on their landlords defied all intimidation, resisted all attempts at bribery, and returned the friend of their cause by an overwhelming majority. This noble example of independence and integrity was followed elsewhere. The people had found their strength, and, what was far more, the courage to use it. The heart of Ireland beat high with a sense of triumph. In 1827 another attempt was made to pass the bill, but in spite of the favorable reception it had met in the House of Commons only two years before, it was now thrown out after a long discussion. With the repeated changes of the ministry at this time the expectations of the Catholic body rose and fell.

In January, 1828, the famous Wellington Cabinet came to power and relief seemed now far off indeed. Yet the agitation was unceasing. Simultaneous meetings, representing five millions of Irish Catholics, were held in every parish in Ireland, and from each went forth the same appeal for justice. Even this exhibition of moral force failed to soften the hardened heart of the opposition. A new bill was contemptuously rejected by the Lords. Then came the crowning victory at the Clare elections, where O'Connell himself was returned to Parliament by a more than two-thirds majority. Confusion reigned in the camp of the supremacy; Peel himself realized the full significance of the event. Wellington, however, yielded slowly; his suggestion of a change of policy met with an angry response in Parliament. Yet the Catholic body was steadfast and determined. The Ministers feared an insurrection; armed with this plea they went before Parliament; on its strength they forced the consent of an unwilling king. On February 5, 1829, the speech from the throne announced the surrender of the Government. A month later Peel presented the Catholic Bill of Relief. It passed the House of Commons by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight—the House of Lords by one hundred and five.

Thus was gained one of the greatest moral victories of the century. By it the religion of over six millions of people was freed from the shackles with which national hatred and religious intolerance had so long bound it. It may appear strange that the idea of religious tolerance and equality of civil rights should have been so slow in attaining to its triumph at a

time not very far removed from our own, and in a country which stood in the forefront of cultured nations. It is certainly painful to contemplate that even when yielded it was conceded not to the principle of equity involved, but only to the stress of events and on the score of political expediency. But prejudice dies hard, especially when nourished by temporal emoluments and pride of place in Church or State.

The victory was, however, a grand tribute to the Liberator, and in the joy and pride of success he may well have reckoned as nought the labors, the sacrifices, and the dangers he had braved. The difficulties and obstacles had been many—a hostile King and Parliament in England; a proud and jealous Protestant faction in Ireland; dissensions with or among his friends and followers; a lack of sympathy, to say the least, among the Catholic nobility in England, and, to some extent, of Ireland as well; distrust at times on the part of the clergy, and a seeming betrayal by the Father of Christendom himself. Yet energy, courage, tact, generosity and unselfishness dissolved or bore down all opposition until the glorious triumph was achieved.

M. Godré deserves well of the reading public for this second edition of the Liberator's "Life and Work." He has shown considerable diligence in collecting his data, and certainly much literary skill in their disposition and presentation. The result is a well-nigh model popular biography. It contains an abundance of interesting information without any of the dryness of mere detail. Its tone is sympathetic yet free from extravagance. To the French reader it presents an admirable compendium of the larger English lives of O'Connell and the political history of the times in which he lived. The work has merited the much-coveted approval of the French Academy.

Apropos of this new life of O'Connell it may be of some utility if a brief bibliography be here appended. It is not meant to be exhaustive, only to place before the reader the principal works in which may be found the materials of this famous episode in the history of human liberty.

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BIOGRAPHIES OF O'CONNELL.—John O'Connell, Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Dublin, 2 v., 1845; Brühl, Irland und O'Connell; Freiburg, 1873; Baumstark, O'Connell, Freiburg, 1873; O'Connell in Wetzer u. Weltes Kirchenlexicon, vol. VI; (2d ed.), Freiburg, 1890; O'Connell Centenary Record, Dublin, 1878; Langlois, O'Connell d'après sa correspondance (Correspondant, 25 Dec., 1888, 25 Jan., 1889); J. A. Hamilton, O'Connell (Lives of Statesmen Series), London, 1888; Keane, Panegyric on O'Connell, Dublin, 1897; Robert Dunlop, Daniel O'Connell and the Revival of National Life in Ireland, New York, 1900. The famous sketch by "Timon" in his "Portraits" and the three days funeral discourse of Padre Ventura at Paris are documents of primary value for foreign appreciation of O'Connell's purpose and methods.

M. O'C.

Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Christlichen Alterthum, eine dogmengeschichtliche studie, von J. P. Kirsch (Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur—und Dogmengeschichte, Vol. I, Heft I.) Mainz, Fr. Kirchheim, 1900, 8° p. 230.

With this study on the ecclesiastical teaching of Christian antiquity concerning the Communion of Saints, Dr. Ehrhard, professor of Church History at Vienna, and Dr. Kirsch, professor of Patrology and Christian Archaeology at Friburg in Switzerland, begin a series of "Researches" in Early Christian Literature and the History of Dogma. For the first time Catholics undertake such a work; we wish them the success they merit in a field that is strewn with delicate problems and difficulties of no common kind. Dr. Kirsch treats in the essay before us of the earliest traces in Christian literature and monuments of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. In the remnants of the primitive Christian literature, beginning with the Scripture, he finds no few nor uncertain echoes of this belief,—the prayers of the faithful for one another, the relation of the "chosen just ones" in heaven to the faithful on earth, the angels as guardians of the faithful, the prayers for the dead. The New Testament opens the list of touching "testimonia." Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, the Didaché, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Apologists, the very old "Acta Pauli et Theclæ," and other literary texts furnish phrases of astonishing significance when pressed for all their meaning. In their light we are ready to believe that the following (slightly restored) beautiful epitaph from the Cemetery of Priscilla belongs to the middle of the second century:

Vos precor, o fratres, orare huc quando venitis
Et precibus totis patrem natumque rogatis,
Sit vestræ mentis Agapes caræ meminisce
Ut Deus omnipotens Agapen in sæcula servet.

In a second section of his researches, Dr. Kirsch treats the development of this teaching during the third century,—the spiritual relation of the faithful to one another on earth, their relation to the departed "Sancti," the office of the Martyrs, the prayers for the dead, and the functions of the angels as regards the faithful.

Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Hippolytus, the "Acta Martyrum," furnish abundant confirmations and illustrations of the Catholic doctrine. We cannot resist the temptation to cite the following Greek epitaph on the "little boy," Dionysius, found at Rome in the Ostrian Cemetery on the Nomentan Way:

Διονύσιος νήπιος
 ἄκακος ἔνθαδε κεί
 τε μετὰ τῶν ἁ
 γίων. μνήσκεσθε
 δε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖ
 σ ἀγίαις πρευχᾷς (sic)
 καὶ τοῦ γλύφαντος καὶ γράφαντος.¹

Another precious monument of the same kind and time (third century) comes from Gaul,—it is known as the Epitaph of Pectorius of Autun: "O Aschandios, my father, my heart's desire, with my sweet mother and my brothers, bethink thee, in the Peace of the Ichthys (Fish) of thy Pectorios." This is reprinted from Le Blant, *Inscript. Chrétienues de la Gaule* (I. p. 8, no. 4), and differs only in its eloquence from an epitaph of the same period, yet kept in the Christian Museum of the Lateran (*Inscr. cl.*, viii., n. 19; De Rossi, *Il Museo Epigrafico Pio-Lateran*, tav. viii, no. 19.)

Anatolius filio benemerenti fecit
 Qui vixit annis vii mensis vii die
 Bus xx Ispiritus tuus bene requies
 Cat in Deo petas pro sorore tua.

Finally, in the great Christian doctors of the fourth century, Kirsch finds the complete consequences of this teaching,—in men like Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil of Neocaesarea, John Chrysostom, and many others. Their belief is expounded with much acumen, in considerable detail, and with no small display of critical method and thoroughness. Many of the most convincing passages are printed in full,—the references to the others are abundant. Dr. Kirsch contributes an item to the controversy on the "Apostles' Creed," by the pages 214-227, in which he discusses the time of insertion and the meaning of "*communio sanctorum*" in that venerable symbol. It is first met with in the Church of Gaul, in the writings of Faustus, Bishop of Riez (449-462), who in the work on the Holy Ghost mentions these words, as following, "*Sanctam Ecclesiam*," in the creed.

T. J. S.

¹ "Dionysius, an innocent child, lies here with the Saints. Remember in your holy prayers, both the writer of the epitaph and the engraver." This and many other pious acclamations and prayers may be found in Dr. Kirsch's "*Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristlichen Grabschriften*," (Köln, 1897.)

The World's Best Orations, edited by David J. Brewer. (Justice David J. Brewer, United States Supreme Court, Editor-in-Chief; Edward A. Allen and William Schnyler, Associated Editors; Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart, M. P., Chairman of the Advisory Council; ten volumes; Ferd P. Kaiser, St. Louis, 1900).

The power of the orator is too subtle a thing to be put entirely into words. The words are at best only the dead husks of the vivifying personality. Yet they are the near approaches to important men and important questions of history; and the anthology that gives us the best of all orations in a convenient form has fulfilled a good purpose. The rigid laws of classicism, the Greek *rhetoric*, have crumbled into mere tradition; the modern psychological view of oratorical persuasion has taken its place.

The editors found themselves in the position of men who might err, from the oratorical or literary point of view, by leaning too decidedly to the demand for historical sequence and interpretation. The translation, in the second volume, of Bismarck's "Plea for Imperial Armament," is most valuable historically, but the reader who looks only for "gems of oratory" might look upon it as cumbering the work. Sir Charles Dilke has included Lord Beaconsfield's reply to his celebrated attack on the expenditures of the royal family. "The Meaning of Conservatism" is one of the most brilliant of Beaconsfield's speeches, but it might easily be overlooked, in a compilation of this sort, were not its object more comprehensive than literary or oratorical. Justice Brewer's guiding hand is evident in the selection of certain speeches usually neglected in similar anthologies. Webster's and Clay's and Patrick Henry's and even Proctor Knott's Duluth speeches are in nearly all, but it is not easy to find Andrew Hamilton's fine discourse "For Free Speech in America," delivered in 1735. Guizot's addresses are well known, but Flaxman's are hard to find. One is always sure to see copious extracts from Burke and Fox and Jeremy Taylor, but the typical sermons of Newman, Monsabré and Agustino da Montefeltro are not often given. As a means by which the change in the speaker's point of view as to the oration may be studied, Judge Brewer's anthology is excellent. Demosthenes and Cicero, Bossuet and Bourdaloue, David Dudley Field and Albert Gallatin, Lowell and Cardinal Gibbons here offer material most valuable for analysis of the processes of progress from the mannered and "classical" methods of the past to the simpler and less pompous technique of the present. The rhetoric no longer controls; the introductions of Cicero's time, which might be prefixed to an oration of almost any kind, have given way, in our time, to things less conventional; and the dramatic efforts of Bossuet, so carefully rehearsed and considered, would be risky if

attempted to-day even by a man of genius. Lowell's "Democracy" and the discourses of James Cardinal Gibbons are among the best examples of the modern manner.

From the historical side, the Hon. George Boutwell's speech on the "Impeachment of President Johnson," and the late Hon. Richard P. Bland's "Parting of the Ways," have great interest. Henry W. Grady's noble discourse on "The South and the Race Problem" is here, too. The volume containing the example of Archbishop Ryan's sermons has not yet reached us,—as the ten volumes are not yet completed. We trust that examples of some of the greatest addresses at the receptions of the French Academy and one of the most logical of Herr Windhorst's speeches,—and there are many fine ones,—will be included. The compilation is so broadly conceived, that we shall expect to find no really great name in oratory omitted. The publisher has evidently spared no means of making the mechanical part of the volumes worthy of the design.

M. F. E.

Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. London: Macmillan, 1900; 2 vols., 8°, xiii—423; 382.

"If England is converted to Christ, it will be as much due, under God, to you as to any one." These words of Cardinal Newman, directed in 1857 to the subject of the memoir before us, give the keynote of a life that was well worth the writing. Ambrose Lisle March Phillips de Lisle was born in 1809, and died in 1878. He is therefore a child of this century, and one need not be surprised to see in him all the lights and shadows, the ardors and the shortcomings of his time. Sprung from the higher gentry of England, it was his good fortune to fall under the influence of a worthy French *émigré* priest, whose exemplary life and holy teaching so won the heart of this son of predilection that at the age of sixteen he was converted to Catholicism, and was baptized "in a poor Irish pavior's cottage" outside Loughborough, in his native Leicestershire. Thenceforth his life was given over to the cause of religion, of which he remained to the end a tireless apostle, gathering the bitter with the sweet, but ever faithful to a few guiding principles that lent unity and consistency to his career. One of these was the corporate reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The way of individual conversion did not displease de Lisle,—on the contrary, no lay Catholic labored more zealously or fruitfully to bring over to the Roman pale every choice soul with which he came into contact. But he believed that one day the entire organization of Anglicanism could be won for the cause of unity; that prospect sustained and gladdened him to his death. In

these pages are told the vicissitudes of the various "schemata" by which this end was to be obtained, some that found no favor at the centre of unity, and others that were welcomed there and raised to the dignity of a universal work. That portion of de Lisle's correspondence which deals with corporate reunion is highly interesting, and ought to be read by all who would understand the latest decisions of the Holy See and their preliminaries that now cover a period of two generations. Wiseman, Newman, Manning, Lord Talbot, Pugin, Father Ignatius, Montalembert figure in varying degrees in these letters, all of which are marked by elevation and candor of views, and that more than ordinary optimism which seems to have been the secret of his perennial enthusiasm.

De Lisle was an ardent patriot. Indeed, it was largely his patriotism that dictated his philosophy of England's conversion—so mighty a commercialism needed the counterbalance of a religion at once universal and mystical, if it would not run the risk of parting forever from the spirit and teachings of Christ, and thereby enter on the sure road of decline and death. Though a Conservative, de Lisle was always a friend of Gladstone, whose opinions and principles concerning Turkey he shared. As a youth of fourteen, he had reasoned himself into the view that not the Pope, but the Great Turk, was Antichrist. His most important literary venture is a work entitled "*Mahometanism in its Relations to Prophecy*" (1855). For this work, whose inspiration de Lisle accredited to the apocalyptic commentaries of the Spanish Jesuit Lacunza, Mr. Purcell claims "a not unimportant share" in the formation of the actual public opinions in England concerning the Religion of the Sword.

Such a life as this resolves itself easily into a history of Catholicism in England, written from the standpoint of an active leader in all its public enterprises. True to the hereditary instincts of his race and station, de Lisle was always a man of action and initiative,—the patient and prayerful attitude that awaits the improbable or the impossible could never be enough for a child of pushful Albion. This gentleman of rank, who might have compounded on easy terms with his conscience, taken his ease, improved his fortune, and won the highest recognition in a great and ancient state,—perhaps taken the helm of government,—chose to be an apostle of Catholicism, and to bring to his work all the directness, vigor, frankness, liberality and common sense that an English squire could be supposed to possess. He is concerned about the spread of Catholicism in his native Leicestershire, and gives abundantly for the organization of parochial nuclei. He founds with mediæval munificence the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Bernard, almost on the site of the famous Grace-Dieu Abbey of the old Catholic days. He inaugurates and sustains relationships that culminate in the Oxford Movement, and

the conquest of Newman, Manning, Wilberforce, Faber, and that host of "intellectual" converts whose apparition is the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of nineteenth century Catholicism. He rejoices to see the hierarchy re-established and to witness the "second spring" of a holy religion that daily absorbs more and more his own extraordinary energies and gifts. He would have Oxford and Cambridge visited again by the Catholic youth of England,—had he lived twenty years more, he would have seen Leo XIII withdraw the prohibition of his predecessor. The ancient "Gregorian Chant," the truly "religious" Gothic architecture, the reverential service of God in the liturgy as once practiced by believing men and women, were very dear to his heart,—he wrote much and wisely on them, was the intimate friend of Pugin and surest "kenner" of his genius. In a social and literary way de Lisle was ever among his Anglican brethren a promise, a hope, a prophet of the desired reunion of the churches of England with the mother see of Rome. His was truly a Gregorian heart that would easily have found its place among the Santa Claras of the Laudian time.

This intensely English soul was also intensely modern, and felt keenly what seemed the needless multiplying or retention of obstacles to the acceptance of the claims and rights of Catholicism. Loyal himself beyond a doubt or a suspicion, he would have the way of the repentant "erring" made as easy as possible; he would stretch the cloak of charity till its divine fibre could yield no farther. He saw in this light all the phenomena of the larger life of the Church on the continent and throughout the world. Doubtless sympathy, intelligence of actualities, a prophetic instinct of the good results of a moderate and cunctatory policy, are excellent things. But the conditions and needs of the wider and manifold Catholicism need also to be considered; many a policy that, isolated, would work suitably,—or could be tried,—is not unlikely, given the present rapidity of communication, to cause more than equivalent trouble and difficulty in some other part of the body Catholic. That mighty "balançoir" of Catholicism, the Holy See, was never more needed than in the critical era through which we are now moving, in which there is going on a shifting of conditions and interests such as the world has not seen from time immemorial. Though an Inopportunist during the Vatican Council, de Lisle accepted loyally the decision of the Church, and rallied to its defence in the years that followed. Bishop Ullathorne could praise his work in the *Union Review* as "singularly good and able and to the main point." This brings out another peculiarity of the policy of de Lisle, his writings in non-Catholic reviews. They were always welcomed, and brought with them into the camp of the enemy some aroma of true Catholicism ever gentle and patient and to

sacrifices inclined. De Lisle was none of your "fecial priests" of journalism; rather was he one of those who linger on the border until open hostilities force him across, ready to spring back with the olive branch when the smoke of battle ceases. *Beati mites!* Who would not willingly be accused on the last day, before the Judge of hearts, of excess of mansuetude, pity, belief in the honesty and good will of others?

These volumes are only partially the work of the late Mr. Purcell, the author of the "Life of Cardinal Manning." They have been completed and revised by the son of Ambrose de Lisle. In them will be found many touches of historical realism, bits of heightened color, such as our age loves to find in biographies,—we often want to *see and hear* rather than *know* the man we read about. We are affected, not always judiciously, by the modern cry for fulness of detail, exhaustive presentation of circumstances, the mania of the minute. Another age, more mediævally architectonic, will think that we were like the melancholy Jaques' "fool i' the forest," who

"hath strange places cramm'd
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms."

There is always room for criticism and recrimination where correspondence is not published in complete form, and where the reverse cannot be seen in all the letters that dovetail with those laid before us. It is possible to apply to such works that reproach of subjectivism which historians make against the author of "Memoirs" and "Journals." The writers do not necessarily falsify—only, their point of view is restricted, personal. This reproach can even reach the compilers of "State Papers" and "Documentary Histories." Men like Theiner could lay themselves open to it. How much more easily does the modern biography, half comment, half document, lend itself to adverse criticism as soon as it rouses situations that lay a-slumbering? We do not think these general remarks applicable to the two beautiful volumes before us. They contain pages of notable beauty, *e. g.* (pp. 190–194) de Lisle's "Prayer for the Reconciliation of the Anglican Church to the Unity of the Catholic Church." This commentary on Ps. XXI, written in 1862, runs in the shape of a dialogue between the "Ecclesia Anglicana" and the "Christiani Catholici orantes Deum pro insigni Ecclesia Anglicana." I copy a paragraph written out of the heart of de Lisle, typical of his conviction and his purpose:

"*In te speraverunt patres nostri, speraverunt et liberasti eos*; but how different was it in the happy days of our Fathers; in Thee did they hope, they hoped and thou didst deliver them. Truly they were thy

people, and thou wert their God, *ad Te clamaverunt et salvi facti sunt : in te speraverunt et non sunt confusi*. Yes, O my God, well may I repeat this sweet declaration of their faith and thy goodness towards them, for who is there that knoweth it not? Was not England in those happy days of our forefathers called throughout all Christendom the Island of Saints, was she not called out of chivalrous devotion to thee, the portion of thy blessed Mother *Dos Mariae*? and was not thy holy Church in this kingdom famous among all the Churches of the Saints? *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. But now alas! how changed is all that! how faded is all the glory and brightness of my former days; all my mirth is turned into bitterness. I am become a very worm of the earth, at the mercy of every scorner that passeth by. No longer do we hear of the famous English Church—nay, they even deny that I am a Church at all, so disfigured am I with the weight of my calamities, *sum vermis et non homo*; I am become the reproach of men, that is of Catholic Christians, and the scorn of the common people, that is of the meanest sectaries *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. *Omnes videntes me deriserunt me; locuti sunt labiis et moverunt caput*. Yes, every looker-on derideth me; they whisper against me, shaking their heads with contempt."

T. J. S.

Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abyssiniern. Ein historisch-exegetischer Versuch von Dr. Phil. Sebastian Euringer. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1900.

The occasion of this essay was a startling statement made a century or more ago by James Bruce in his "Travels to the Sources of the Nile" and recently accepted and endorsed (though not without astonishment on his part) by Dr. Riedel, to the effect that (1) the Abyssinian Church interprets literally the Canticle of Canticles; and (2) forbids the reading of that book to all save the aged priests, for whom, Bruce adds, it is favorite reading. Dr. Euringer, who has been for some time preparing a critical edition of the Canticle of Canticles in the Ethiopic version, has found abundant evidence of the erroneous character of the first part of this statement, while he holds, from an Abyssinian priest, that the second part of it is equally false. Several readings of the Ethiopic version are radically opposed to a literal interpretation of the Canticle. For instance, the sixth verse of Chapter I is so worded as to make evident that in it not the material sun, but Christ, the spiritual sun, is understood. Numerous marginal glosses point clearly to the general acceptance of an allegorical interpretation. For instance (Cantic. II, 11) we read: In the day of His espousals; that is "In the day of His crucifixion, in the day

of His passion, in the day of His death, in the day of His espousals." Not less cogent are liturgical strophes with which the text is interspersed. After III, 5, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem," etc., we read:

"The Logos, the Son, my brother skipped between the mountains,
Bending He looks through the lattice, and peeps through the window,
With thy flesh he united the burning beauty of his Divinity.
Maria, since through thee we found confidence
We call thee the wood of the ark."

Finally in an Ethiopic manuscript of the British Museum, we find a commentary with the following title: "The Canticle of Canticles, concerning the Son and the Christian Church and his Mother." So much for the first statement of James Bruce, who evidently "n'a rien perdu pour attendre." Dr. Riedel will not need to trouble himself any more in order to account for the Abyssinian Church being influenced by the Nestorian doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Dr. Euringer adds to the above the testimony of an Abyssinian priest who stoutly denies the custom of a literal interpretation of the Canticle of Canticles in the Abyssinian Church (Schismatic or Catholic). He also denies the statement of Bruce that only the aged priests were allowed to read the Canticle. "Nobody in the Abyssinian Church," said he, "is forbidden to read the Canticle of Canticles. The Book is commented on from the pulpit; it is taught to the children. . . . It does not contain anything dangerous except for the wicked-minded."

It would be unfair not to add that Dr. Euringer's treatment of his subject is far more thorough than demanded by the occasion. It speaks well for his former teacher Père Lagrange, to whom this excellent "opuscule" is dedicated. Judging from Dr. Herkenne's work (*BULLETIN*, April, 1899), who in his turn styles himself a pupil of Dr. Euringer, the good seed sown by the able Professor of the "Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques" in Jerusalem, "fell into the good ground and grew and brought fruit . . . in patience." May it be "to the hundredfold!"

H. H.

La Vie de Saint Didier Evêque de Cahors (590-655) par René Poupardin. Paris: Picard, 8°, 1900. Pp. xx-64.

In M. Poupardin's text of the life of Desiderius of Cahors we have the almost contemporary story of one of those great Gallo-Roman bishops who stood for religion and civil order in the centuries that followed the collapse of the Roman power in the West. He could be put into the portrait gallery of the best men painted by Gregory of Tours; indeed he is spiritually of the race and stock of Gregory. Original texts of that

period are rare; hence the timeliness of this edition. The reader will gain a better impression of that old world of change and disorder from the reading of such texts than from many an elaborate essay. Especially is this so if he prepares himself by reading those inimitable "Récits Mérovingiens, in which Amedée Thierry has told in a kind of "causerie" that is charmingly "gauloise" the lights and the shadows of the sixth and seventh centuries in Frankish Gaul. Very curious is the reference (p. 89) to the Irish hermit Arnanus, an "inclausus" who was "amicus fidelissimus" of Desiderius, and who was "ex genere Scotorum veniens." Four centuries later we shall still meet these "inclausi" (reclusi) at Cologne, Mainz, Fulda and elsewhere in Germany. But their first continental experience was in Gaul, where the first Scotie cloisters of Columbanus and the scattered "Hospitia Scotorum" had long been drawing ascetic souls from Bangor and Clonmacnoise and Iona. There is (p. 30) a brief but picturesque sketch of the household of some one of those great Gallo-Frankish bishops who so disliked Columbanus. "Non ibi (in the palace of Desiderius) canes fastidium, non sui studium inrogabant; non hujuscemodi quadrupedia voluptuosa potius quam necessaria intererant, non simus jocus, non istrio risum, non scurra cachinnus excitabat, sed totum quies, totum gravitas, totum patientia occupabat." The work is also very valuable for the history of architecture, especially the origin of Lombard or earliest Romanesque architecture. T. J. S.

Saint Jean Chrysostom, (344-407), par Aimé Puech. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8° pp. 200.

No better hand than that of M. Aimé Puech could undertake a popular account of the life of the greatest of Christian orators, and one of the most apostolic bishops who ever lived. By his excellent treatise on the "Morale de St. Jean Chrysostome," M. Puech brought out the sincerity, purity and evangelical simplicity of St. John's conduct at Antioch and Constantinople. In that supreme struggle between the spirit of paganism yet viable in the worldliness and the materialism of the times, St. John was a figure not second to any of the great martyrs of the third century, a Cyprian, an Origen, a Pionius. For all its external Christianity the civil power at Byzantium was not and never could be *foncièrement* Christian,—there lurked in its marrow a malediction of imperialism that necessarily revealed itself *data occasione*. What Demosthenes was on the Pnyx for Philip, that was John for the "saeculum" enthroned and crowned, whether it was manifest in the oppression of the poor, in the whirl of vanities, or in the malevolence of luxury reprov'd and withstood. M. Puech brings out very strongly the unadorned native Pauline character of St. John's moral teaching; the novelty of the Christian homily which he raised to be one of the great

instruments of human persuasion, even if he did borrow its form from the Stoic preachments of a previous age; the historical and ethical character of his exegesis as opposed to the Alexandrian allegory and the rigid literalism of Antioch. It is to the Bible, especially the Prophets, that this great Speaker of Christendom owes the puissance and sublimity of his images, the security of his logic, the unity of his argument,—after him Bossuet will draw at the same deep fountain, and the world will hear once more the divine tones of that eloquence which first charmed the world from the lips of Isaias. Guide of souls, professor of Christian ethics, friend of youth and its model amid the blandishments of two cities that sheltered, as no cities before or since, the vices of East and West, this incomparable man translated into Christian life all that was best in Plato and Zeno, and interfused it with the new leaven of humanity,—the tender, merciful, loving spirit of Jesus. M. Puech is an artist in the sketching and shading of character,—his comparison (p. 196) of John and Ambrose is both true and delicately done. It is harder to agree with him when (p. 9) he maintains that he was among the Fathers “un de ceux qui furent le plus complètement détachés de la civilisation antique.” Chrysostom was long the disciple of Libanius. What that meant may be seen from the excellent study of M. Harrent on “Les Ecoles d’Antioche.” As the outer forms of paganism wore away, it centered its hope more and more on its philosophers and teachers, its letters and arts. The influence of Stoics and Sophists was very great in the world into which Chrysostom was born; and precisely in such academies as, that of Libanius, tolerated because of the stress they laid on conduct and ideal morality. Is it not here that John caught the first impulse to that life of *πρακτική* that he was afterward to illustrate? Is not this one reason why he stands off so among all other Christian fathers? M. Puech has given us an exquisite sketch into which he has woven the pietistic perfume of Neander’s beautiful portrait, the narrative charm of that of Amedée Thierry, the literary skill of Paul Albert’s sketch of the popular orator, the theological acumen of Bardenheuer, and his own well-earned sense of the apostolic earnestness and “droiture” of the greatest Greek who ever confessed Christ. The book is replete with citations; the author rightly says it is the best way to make Chrysostom known.

T. J. S.

La Vénérable Jeanne d’Arc (1412–1431), par L. Petit de Julleville.
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. 200.

The most learned of the modern historians of French literature has undertaken this sketch of Joan of Arc for the Lecoffre collection, “Les Saints.” Needless to say that the documents of Quicherat and the

later works on her life are worked over with equal skill and eloquence. Notably rapid and picturesque are the descriptions of the process of the Maid, her death and her rehabilitation. In M. de Julleville's narrations the spirit of French nationalism permeates every page; Jeanne is the nation incorporate, betrayed, agonizing, but never despairing. French patriotism is very holy and compatible with the highest demands of the Catholic religion; so much so that in 1456 the nation will compel the rehabilitation of the saintly virgin's memory, and in 1869 the cause of her canonization will be introduced at Rome, with this effect, that in 1894 Leo XIII will sign the decree that embodies the favorable conclusions of Cardinal Parocchi, "Relator" of this famous initiatory process, with whom were associated the Bishop of Orléans, where the primary inquest was held (1874-1888), and Father Captier, the present Superior-General of Saint Sulpice. The decree is given in a French translation (pp. 193-200). These valuable little volumes of "Les Saints" ought to be in the library of every school, academy, and college; they contain something modern and fresh in hagiology.

T. J. S.

Striefzüge durch die Biblische Flora, von Lepold Fonck, S. J.
Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900; 8vo., pp. xiii — 167.

During the last two centuries considerable attention has been given to the vegetation of the Holy Land, and many treatises have been written upon it; the greater proportion of them by authors who were at once critical biblical students and men of some attainments in systematic botany. The author of this recent treatise cites no fewer than forty-two titles of works which deal either directly and specifically, or else incidentally but effectually, with the subject of Biblical Botany.

A number of such works have been written by men who had little or no field knowledge of Palestinian plant life, but who had their information from the writings and plant descriptions of various oriental travelers, supplemented by herbarian collections, and by published figures of vegetable denizens of the eastern deserts, plains and mountains.

The present writer is no mere compiler. The title of the work, *Excursions in Biblical Botany*, as it may be rather freely but inaccurately translated, implies that he is a field student as well as a worker in herbarium and library. And the pages which he has written exhale the freshness of the plant world as it exists out-of-doors. He has seen and studied, and lucidly describes his subjects as they appear in their native haunts. Such work, when well done, gives the reader a vivid insight into this fascinating realm of nature.

It is not a systematic Flora of Palestine which the author has given us; nor is there so much as a formal catalogue of the plants of the country. And yet the work is decidedly more than a series of dissertations upon the plants mentioned in Holy Scripture. The reader is taught, for example, that certain plants now common and everywhere conspicuous as growing wild through the Holy Land, such as the prickly pear and some of its allies, are natives of America, and made their appearance as bold and striking figures in the Palestinian landscape, within the last three centuries.

The matter of the volume is arranged according to the ecologic principle; an arrangement which, though not scientific, is very convenient for a work of popular botany, such as this in a measure must be considered. Moreover, it is in perfect harmony with the idea of an excursion study of the vegetation of a country.

In the first chapter the reader is introduced to the plant denizens of the seaboard; such as the Date Palm, Tamarisk, Ivy, and Prickly Pear; the sand beach flowers, salt marsh herbs, the Papyrus and other aquatics.

The second chapter treats of the very different growths which clothe the mountain districts; the Oak, Olive, Mulberry, the Ceratonia or St. John's Bread, the Cedar, Fir, and other trees, with the various shrubs and flowering plants that form the mountain woodland undergrowth.

In the third are discussed the thorny and thistly plants of the more elevated and half desert plains, among which are a number of classic medicinal plants. The fourth excursion leads through field and meadow of the more fertile districts of the Holy Land, and treats of the various fruit trees, the vines, the garden plants, edible and medicinal, such as have been under cultivation there from ancient times, together with those of modern introduction. And the concluding chapter, or excursion, treats of the peculiar plant products of the Dead Sea region; the Apple of Sodom, Colocynt, Gourd, Balm of Gilead, Rose of Jericho, and other plants celebrated in ancient lore, both legendary and sacred.

The whole treatise is one which will not fail to obtain recognition as one of the instructive and readable among the many books on Biblical Botany, and will hold permanently, we think, a place among the best of them.

E. L. G.

St. Peter in Rome and His Tomb on the Vatican Hill, by Arthur Stapylton Barnes, M. A. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. (Benziger, New York), 1900, large 8°, pp. 395.

Since the Reformer Ulrich Velen, early in the sixteenth century, first denied the presence of St. Peter at Rome, the controversy has gone

through numerous phases. For the Catholics it was a "dogmatic fact; for the Protestants a short path to the overthrow of all papal pretensions as being built upon the sandy basis of a lie or a myth. In the "Dissertationes Selectae" of Fr. de Smedt, chief of the Bollandists, may be found a brief summary of the original texts and the lines of argument by which the Catholic historians have always vindicated successfully this original position. How many earnest and honest critics outside of the Church they have convinced may be seen in Gebhardt and Harnack's commentary on the first epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians. Father Barnes enumerates in the first chapter of his work a series of the most erudite Anglican writers who have held the same correct views—notably Whiston, no slight critic, who says that "the thing is so clear in Christian antiquity that it is a shame for any Protestant to confess that a Protestant ever denied it." Of one of the arguments usually advanced by Catholics the "Speaker's Commentary" (Barnes, p. 5), says that there is "no alternative but to accept the old unvarying testimony of the fathers, who must have known the sense in which the statement was understood throughout Asia Minor, that St. Peter here (I Peter, V. 13) designates Rome by the title of 'Babylon.'" Fr. Barnes might have added the just and judicious words of one of the greatest of Anglican divines, Dr. Hort, in his "Judaistic Christianity" (1896), and of Sanday and Headlam (Romans, 1895).

Of late years the monumental evidences have been brought forward in greater number. So eminent a scholar as Lanciani, the best known of the topographers of classical Rome, does not hesitate to say that "for the archaeologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence." ("Pagan and Christian Rome," p. 125.)

But the work of Father Barnes is not about St. Peter *at* Rome, rather about St. Peter *in* Rome. It is a full account, not of all the Roman monuments connected with the Head of the Apostles, but of his tomb *in Vaticano*, from the moment of his burial down to the rebuilding of St. Peter's,—in other words a history of that Church, inasmuch as it is the shrine of the Apostle's relics. It is a long story—the "memoria" of Anacletus, the attempted ravishment of the body by the "brethren out of the Orient," the "tropæa" of Gaius, the "Platonía" yet visible at San Sebastiano and lately illustrated by Mgr. de Waal, the Constantinian basilica and its unequalled vicissitudes of one thousand years (325-1400). In the rebuilding of that mighty monument of mediæval faith—sole great ecclesiastical relic that linked all time from Nero to the Hapsburgs—several curious and significant incidents happened in connection with the last resting place of the Fisherman.

They are related by Father Barnes in language that is clear without being too technical. One may say that in the book for the first time appears a complete and readable English account of the religious significance of St. Peter's. Many illustrations and full-page plates accompany the text. Others occur to us as worthy of a place, but where so much is offered it is boorish to look for more. The work of Father Barnes might fairly claim a place not alone in the library of every priest, but of every Catholic layman who loves the unity of the Church, and knows that for eighteen centuries, through good report and evil report, that unity has been secured by adherence to the Rock of Peter. How naturally the words of Cicero (*De Divinat*, I, 40) suggest themselves as we turn the handsome pages of this work: *Quis est enim quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas!*"

T. J. S.

Bilder aus der Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst und Liturgie in Italien, von Stephen Beissel, S. J. Mit 200 Abbildungen. Herder, St. Louis, 1899. 8°, pp 328.

Father Beissel sustains his reputation for popular presentation of archaeological themes by the eight charming chapters in which he illustrates from the early Christian monuments of Italy the principal elements of the liturgy of our Christian forefathers. Thus, the cemeteries with their mysterious corridors and later their sculptured sarcophagi; the basilicas from their earliest origin to the yet extant and noble specimens at Rome and Ravenna; the stadia and processes of the Christian art of painting, especially "al fresco;" the monumental art of mosaic; the details of church furniture and altar plate; the use of decorated tapestries, and embroidered hangings. In the seventh chapter we are treated to a brief discussion of the little baptismal chapels that the ancient Christians loved to build beneath the shadow of their more imposing houses of assembly. In the eighth the author, with much skill and picturesqueness, describes a great Pontifical Mass in the eighth century—the previous pages have made the reader familiar with the material objects that come into use during this grandiose ceremony. It is a fresh and vivid commentary on the "Ordines Romani" of Mabillon, and is alone worth the book. I cannot see that there is anything of importance added to the materials of Dr. Kraus in his monumental "Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst" (Berlin, 1897). Father Beissel covers pretty well the same ground; but he is always eloquent and instructive in his exposition. This work is a little marvel of condensation without sacrifice of essentials.

T. J. S.

Die Englischen Martyrer unter Heinrich VIII und Elizabeth (1525-1583) Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 16 Jahrhunderts, von Joseph Spillmann, S. J. Herder, St. Louis, 1900, 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 262, 439.

By papal decrees of 1886 and 1895 sixty three Englishmen, victims of the hate and the injustice of Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth, were declared to have suffered death for the sake of the Catholic religion, deserving therefor the veneration of all Catholics. It is the history of their steadfastness that Father Spillmann relates in these two very eloquent and moving volumes. Previous to their "beatification," the story of their sufferings had been related by Dodd in his history of the Catholic Church in England; by Bishop Challoner in his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests, etc.," 1741-42; by Canon Flanagan; in Brother Foley's Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus; in the London Oratorians' "Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws," in the "State Papers," "State Trials," and in several contemporary or later biographies, *e. g.*, of Moore, Fisher, and Campion. Within this decade Fathers Morris, Bridgett, Knox, Gasquet, Pallen and others have added both materials and criticisms by writings of a high standard. Apropos of their fine works we may reprint the just remarks of Augustine Birrell (*Res Judicatae*, New York, 1897, p. 289): "It is pleasant to notice that annually the historian's task is being made easier. Books are being published, and old manuscripts edited and printed, which will greatly assist the good man (the future historian) and enable him to write his book by his own fireside. The Catholics have been very active of late years. They have shaken off their shyness and reserve, and however reluctant they may be to allow their creeds to be overhauled, and their rights curtailed by strangers, they have at least come with their histories in their hands and invited criticism. The labours of Father Morris of the Society of Jesus, and of the late Father Knox of the London Oratory, greatly lighten and adorn the path of the student, who loves to be told what happened long ago, not in order that he may know how to cast his vote at the next election, but simply because it so happened, and for no other reason whatsoever."

The pages of Fr. Spillman recall the purple and the gold manuscripts of the Middle Ages—the gold of the martyrs' confessed faith that mingles with the purple tide of his blood. How strange that those deep and evil passions, which were not loosened in the Anglo-Saxon soul when Roman and Irish monks solicited his conversion, should roll in so forbidding a flood when it was a question of rooting out that religion after one thousand years of beneficence! Is not this the reason of it: the people of England had fallen politically under a worse than Ottoman despotism?

In vain did the poor leaderless masses start "pilgrimages of grace," and the like. The evil and blightful doctrines that found their expression in the transfigured feudalism of Shakspeare's Richard II. were now putting forth their sure fruits. Churchmen and statesmen had fed them. "Der gemeine Mann" no longer counted except as a taxable quantity.

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king;
The breath of wordly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord." (Richard II, III, 2.)

This baneful root of Norman despotism, imported by the too-masterful Conqueror, and foreign to the genuine concept of Christian monarchy, had grown, unchecked, in the fifteenth century among a people deceived by their temporal prosperity; the great churchmen like St. Thomas à Becket, Grosseteste, and Stephen Langton, had ceased to multiply under royal pressure on the canonical electors, and for other reasons; the power of fearless mediæval Rome, before which the contemporary Henrys, Philips, and Johns were wont to quake, was overlaid with wordly and unworthy accretions that were not, but seemed to be, of its essence. Never were the Christian barriers of Western tyranny laid so low as in the sixteenth century, that more than Neronian century of unchecked absolutism. If any one would note the distance travelled since the death of that great man, Pope Gregory VII, let him read Gosselin's "Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages," or Hergenroether's "Church and State." We know now that the English people never abandoned deliberately the Catholic faith of the Roman Church; they were robbed of it. But the passion of liberty had grown dull in the hearts of the people for excess of life's good things, and the comforts of earth had tempted too successfully a large portion of the clergy. A pagan philosophy of life, the Renaissance philosophy of refined sensual enjoyment, ever the fruitful mother of tyranny, had been for a century eating its way into the schools and homes of England, largely, perhaps, through that Italian travel so fiercely condemned by Roger Ascham in his "Schoolmaster." Men loved pleasure and ease, the goods of the present life that never dawned so temptingly as in the reign of the eighth Henry. The high and moulding ideal faith that once led knight and peasant to die in the Orient,

"For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens,"

was now strangely dull and tamed. A philosophy of gold, with all that it meant, was turning the heads and hearts of the multitudes of Europe.

Nowhere more surely than in England, where it then mounted the throne that it has never since quitted. Religion was no longer the "summum bonum", no longer worth dying for. Only, as an immortal protest, some noble few came forth and laid down their heads upon the block that record might be made in heaven of the continuity of virtue, faith, and courage; of the love of the kingdom celestial and the contempt of this valley of tears. As the ages go by, the identity of the Acts of the first Christian martyrs and those of the English martyrs will grow ever clearer, and we shall one day scarcely know whether we are listening to Fisher and Moore before their judges or to Justin before Rusticus. In both cases the summit of tyranny had been reached, the blending of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; there could be but a minim distinction between the divine "Genius" of Caligula and that "State Headship" of the Church which evil Thomas Cromwell fixed in the still more evil brain of the most monstrous man who ever weighed down an ancient throne and a Christian people. May they never again be confounded; for, in the words of Trajan to Pliny, "*pessimi exempli et non nostri temporis est.*"

T. J. S.

Les Esclaves Chrétiens, depuis les premiers temps de l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin de la domination romaine en Occident, par Paul Allard, 3d edition: Paris. Lecoffre, 1900, 8vo, pp. 494.

This new edition of a little classic in early Christian literature is very welcome. In three books—Roman Slavery, Christian Equality, Christian Liberty—M. Allard condenses, with his known skill, a world of accurate erudition, taken at first hand in the remote and scattered sources where it lies hidden from the ordinary student. What were the conditions of Roman master and Roman slave when Christ came? Did such conditions differ in the cities and on the great estates? How did the first Christians treat the slaves who joined them? Were they martyrs in their turn, or even apostles? Did the Church recognize their marriages? Did she emancipate them? What was her influence through the Christian slave on the philosophy of labor? Under what circumstances did slavery gradually disappear after the triumph of Christianity? These are all questions of profound interest for the student of social origins, conditions, and institutions. Their discussion to-day brings us back to the solid beams on which Christianity lies, and which may not be trifled with, at peril of its yet unbroken influence over the poor and lowly, from whose ranks it has ever been recruited, and whose instinctive devotion has more than once preserved for it that internal liberty without which it must perish. The reader who desires to follow the story of slavery in the Christian church will do well to read another work of

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M. Allard: "Esclaves, Serfs et Mainmortables," (Paris, 1886); also the article of Lallier in the *Correspondant* (t. xxx, 1852), on the "Suppression de l'Esclavage par le Christianisme," and the "Lectures on Slavery and Serfdom in Europe," by Dr. Brownlow, Bishop of Clifton (London, 1892). An admirable summary of the general history of the Empire from the Christian viewpoint is to be found in M. Allard's late work on "Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain." (Lecoffre, Paris, 1900.)

T. J. S.

Seneca—Album: Weltfrohes und Weltfreies aus Seneca's philosophischen Schriften (with an appendix on Seneca and the Christian Religion), von B. A. Betzinger. Herder, St. Louis, 1899. 8°. Pp. 224.

Truly a little vade-mecum for every Christian thinker! Out of the philosophical writings of Seneca Dr. Betzinger has gathered several chapters of "thoughts" that represent the highest and purest views of the great Stoic on the world and life. Joy and freedom, healthy, unalloyed, personal,—the joy of a clear-seeing mind and an unselfish heart, freedom from the multitudinous artificial, the common and the degrading,—such is the keynote of the wonderful teaching of the master who once formed a Nero and yet consoles a multitude of chosen disciples. Under the allegory of a day's journey our author disposes the "life-wisdom" of Seneca—he becomes our guide along the broad and dusty road of time and life, up the toilsome ascent, amid the obstacles of nature and self. Then come the cool and healing zephyrs of the hilltops and the reposeful calm of earned peace. Here follow noble apothegms on the love of our kind and the common weal, as well as glimpses of another world half seen through the rent and wavering veil of time and life. Footnotes accompany the German text, referring to the parallels that the New Testament offers to the thoughts of Seneca, parallels so striking that they have persuaded Bishop Lightfoot to believe in the personal acquaintance of Seneca with the substance of the Gospel preaching. The very keynote of the Pauline preaching—our Christgiven internal liberty issuing in a joy that permeates and transfigures the whole soul—"Gaudete, iterum dico—gaudete" is the basic thought of the "pédagogie intime" that Seneca exercises in his epistles and elsewhere. "Hoc ante omnia fac, mi Lucili: discere gaudere" (Ep. 23, 3). We may say of these parallelisms what Seneca himself said of the life-truths current among the ancients: "Ingens eorum turba est passim jacentium; sumenda erunt, non colligenda" (Ep. 33, 3). They caused Tertullian to cry out, "Seneca saepe noster," and to utter the profound thought that all such sayings were "testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae." In the abnor-

mal loosening of inherited principles and views of life that marks our time men may well harken back to a similar epoch when the republic verged into the empire of Rome; when an enormous flood of vice, wrong, and corruption, settled upon humanity and left overtopping its black waves only a few such summities as Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius. In them lay the germ of hope for the restoration of the Gentile world—"sanabiles fecit nationes;" from that class came Clemens and Lucina and Pomponia Graecina and Manius Acilius Glabrio. These Stoics are our Christian "primitifs," as their philosophy is the true bridge between the "praxis" of the Orient and the "contemplatio" of the Greeks. It would be a service to all Christian youth, and even to those who have crossed the meridian of life, if this little work were given an English dress and adapted to the needs of our society.

T. J. S.

The Gods of Old and the Story that they tell, by Rev. James A. Fitz Simon and Vincent A. Fitz Simon, M. D., London; T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, 8° pp. 455.

This is another ingenious and learned attempt to prove that the names of the Greco-Roman divinities are really but the nomenclature of such science as the ancients possessed, only "the word-picture of a condensed knowledge that has immediate reference to the construction of the universe, of earth and to the things of earth." Thus, Hesiod and Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace and the whole corps of writers who have handed down the old mythology, were really writing about geology and astronomy, about matter, force, life, mind, and all their manifestations! The authors of this thesis prove the antiquity of their contention by citations from the Orphic Hymns and from Seneca,—those allegorizers and minimizers of ancient theology. They might have added that the thesis has been brilliantly sustained by Lord Bacon in his "Wisdom of the Ancients." In the preface to that work he says: "Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. . . . The like indeed has been attempted by others; but to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labors have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy and grace of the thing, whilst, being unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of commonplace, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real import, genuine interpretations and full depth." It is this greater "skill in nature" that adds a certain value to the work before us. But why expend time and thought on the spinning of such delicate webs? If there were anything to it, it was an esoteric knowledge, confined to

the adepts of the "mysteries." Politically and socially the old mythology always passed for its face value—Cyprian, Eusebius, Arnobius, Augustine, scarcely mention the Plutarchian allegorizings,—the mass of mankind clung to the most realistic orthodoxy of paganism as against an all-spiritualizing Christianity.

T. J. S.

Serfs et Vilains au Moyen Age, par Henri Doniol. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 299.

M. Doniol partially reprints in this work an essay on the "*Histoire des classes rurales*" published in 1857, confident that its premises and conclusions need little modification. In close condensed chapters he follows the gradual expansion of the mediæval working man through all the phases of slavery, "*colonatus*" servage and "*vilenage*" until he emerges in the fifteenth century a proprietary peasant. Chiefly on the soil of France does he follow out this evolution, and particularly during the flourishing centuries of feudalism when the seigneurial principles bore hardest on the laborer. The old feudal law, the "*coutumiers*," Beaumanoir, the labors of Guérard, the "*Établissement*" and other texts furnish the erudition which M. Doniol enlightens with critical good sense. He brings out clearly the distinction between the *fief* and the *fisc*,—the former a gage of security to the laborer, the latter the source of all his just complaints, because it then made him over to his immediate master as to the only public authority. Hence a personal "*Justice*," variable, irresponsible, immediate, inevitable, wanton, incapable of reform, necessarily selfish and narrow. It took all the great transforming elements in mediæval society to break this cage of the laborer's activity. War, the king, luxury, the crusades, debt, broke the nobles little by little,—not, however, before both in England and France they had committed those endless violences against the laboring peasant that Froissart describes. But the peasant had a "*patiente et valeureuse ambition du mieux*;" his human endurance was beyond belief. Neither the tentative justice of the high Middle Ages nor the gradual concessions saved the mass of the people. It was some old innate, indestructible, almost aboriginal Keltic virtue of manhood and independence. As to the thousands of mediæval "*Seigneurs*" who divided the public authority in the time of its most minute decentralization, M. Doniol renders the following hard judgment: "They caused the laboring man so many evils that even within recent times his condition seemed less a juridical status fixed by laws and decision than a series of compromises between the liberty, peace, and recompense indispensable for the peasant's

personal existence (on which hung the existence of society) and the excessive demands, extortions, even ravages, of his spendthrift masters, ever driven by their increasing needs to the verge of spoliation" (p. 292).

T. J. S.

Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite, publiée d'après les MSS. par H. François Delaborde. Paris: Picard, 1899; pp. xxxii—166.

Lois de Guillaume le Conquerant en français et en latin, textes et étude critique publiés par John E. Matzke (Leland Stanford Junior University) avec une préface historique par Ch. Bémont. Paris: Picard, 1899; 8°, pp. liv—33.

We have here two volumes of the valuable "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," composed of editions of annals, chronicles, treaties, charters, ordinances, biographies and other documents important in throwing light on the history of particular epochs and great institutions.

1. The Life of Saint Louis is composed of two parts: In the first we are given, not a continuous biography of the holy king, but an account of his virtues and pious habits, to each of which a chapter is consecrated; the second part consists of a collection of his miracles, based on the investigation in connection with his canonization. In his interesting preface on this work, the MSS., the sources and editions, the editor shows that the name of the author was Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, who says of himself (p. 5), "j'avoie esté confesseur par xviii ans (1277-1295) de noble dame de bone memoire ma dame Marguerite, reine de France, jadis femme du benoiet Saint Loys," and afterwards confessor of her daughter Blanche, at whose request and on receipt of the copy of the inquiry of canonization he undertook, from his own recollections and those of the royal family, to relate the life and miracles of his saintly king. The original text which William wrote in Latin has entirely disappeared and has come down to us in this French translation, which is probably not the work of William himself. We regret that only one of the two parts, the first containing the life of Louis IX, is contained in the present edition, for the other is infinitely precious to those interested in the private life and manners of the 13th century. Although the life of Saint Louis by William lacks the charm and vivacity (see what he says, p. 6) of that by Joinville (who is mentioned among the witnesses concerning the canonization: Monseigneur Jehan, [*seigneur de*] Joinville, chevalier, du dyocese de Chaalons, homme d'avisé aage et mout riche, eneschal de Champaigne, de l'ans ou environ' p. 8) with which it should

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be compared, it is none the less extremely rich for the life, pious practices, and personality of the king, and to quote the words of the editor, p. xxv, "on ne voit donc pas qu'il y ait lieu de déplorer, autant qu'on l'a fait jusqu'ici, la perte des documents ayant servi à la canonisation de saint Louis, puisque le livre de Guillaume de Saint-Pathus en a conservé toute la substance."

2. This redaction of the laws of William the Conqueror forms part of a series of works intended to make known to the new rulers of England the ancient English law. It should be studied side by side with similar texts of the same time, which inform us of the law and legal procedure such as they were during the last years of the Anglo-Saxon régime. Professor Matzke, in his critical introduction on the MSS. and editions, gives a series of convincing proofs (p. xxx et sq.), historical, textual and linguistic, in regard to the relation of the Latin and French versions, which are given in parallel columns, and shows definitely that the Latin is a translation of a version now lost and that the original form of the laws attributed to William the Conqueror is many years posterior to his death and should be placed somewhere between 1150 and 1170.

In this collection of laws we can easily distinguish three parts: the first deals with attacks against the *pais a seinte iglise*, the *pais le rei* and of the *humes de sa baillie*, robbery, homicide, assault, peter-pence, witnesses at a trial, royal roads and their policing, etc.; the second regulates the condition of workmen and serfs, and of children whose father dies intestate, etc.; the last treats of judges and judgments, hospitality to be given to strangers, pursuit of thieves, etc. The work is valuable not only for the history of English law and in the study of old French, of which it is an important early monument, but also, from the large number of Anglo-Saxon words it contains, for the study of old English.

J. J. D.

Correspondance de Le Coz, Évêque constitutionnel d'Ille-et-Vilaine, par le P. Roussel, de l'Oratoire. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8°, pp. 430.

Every year increases the historical materials for a final judgment on that most wonderful decade of human history with which the eighteenth century came to an end. The story of the ecclesiastical vicissitudes was soon told in works like those of Barrel, Carron, Artaud; the memoirs of Consalvi, Caprara, Pacca, de Pradt; the collections of Roskovány, and countless private memoirs and correspondences rounded out the incredible story of the revolutionary storms. Since then we have had the publications of Thierry, d'Haussonville and Boulay de la Meurthe.

The correspondence of Grégoire has been given to the public by Gazier (1890). So, too, that of Cardinal Maury (1891). We have the

life of M. Emery, by Méric (1885), while the great works of Taine and Albert Sorel contain, one would think, the last words on those days of blood and ruin. Yet here is the seventeenth voluminous work from the Paris "Société d'Histoire Contemporaine"—the last in a very remarkable collection of letters, memoirs, journals, etc., that throw fresh light on those occurrences of the Revolution that chiefly concern the Church. Claude Le Coz (1740-1815) was constitutional bishop of Ille-et-Vilaine (with residence at Rennes in Brittany) from 1791 to 1802, in which year he was nominated by Napoleon to the archiepiscopal see of Besançon, where he died in 1815, his episcopal life being about equally divided between a state of schism and canonical union with the head of the Church. This volume contains the correspondence of the first portion of his episcopate, chiefly his letters to Grégoire, at Blois first and later at Paris. They show an honest and upright heart, secretly tired of the schism and desirous of returning to the pontifical unity. Though he presided over the two national councils (1797, 1801) his letters show that they were held against his wish and that he considered it better to come to some understanding with Rome. He is Gallican to the backbone, though very reverential to the See of Rome. His letters to Mgr. Spina and to Cardinal Caprara on the eve of the Concordat are of importance for determining the attitude of the ten constitutional bishops whom Napoleon, despite the wishes of Pius VI., placed on the list of the new episcopate. The story of the Vendée rebellion is lit up by some lurid flames from these letters; they show the reverse of a terrible struggle where our sympathies are usually with the loyal Bretons. Of Le Coz as archbishop of Besançon the editor says that "*au milieu des circonstances les plus délicates il fit preuve de rares aptitudes*" (cf. "*Revue des Questions Historiques*" 1892, pp. 169-207, and 1888, pp. 507-539). Whatever judgment we pass upon his acceptance of the civil constitution of the clergy and his schismatical attitude, one must say that he defended bravely the celibacy and dignity of the clergy, saved the lives of more than one "insermenté," and braved for these things the rage of Carrier and Robespierre. Had the latter not fallen beneath the guillotine while Le Coz lay in the dungeon of Mont St. Michel, the bishop would have been sacrificed as other constitutional bishops were. His letters denote a cultivated mind and a great fund of native Breton shrewdness and tenacity. The wretched Gobel represents one extreme of the "constitutionnels" or "assermentés," Le Coz the other. Let us hope that the correspondence of his years in Besançon will yet see the light; he seems to have had much to do in the long struggle between Pius VII and the victor of Marengo.

T. J. S.

Alliteration in Italian, by Robert Longley Taylor. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company. 1900. xv+151 pp.

Dr. Taylor, of Yale University, is to be congratulated on his success in fulfilling the purpose, of his dissertation, which the preface tells us are "to present a more stable terminology and definition of alliteration in general. It pays more attention than has been done before to alliteration in the popular language of the Italians," and examines "the use of the figure of speech in certain literary groups not yet investigated."

To begin with, certain expressions which, though alliterative, have received names because of certain peculiarities other than alliteration are ruled out of this discussion: (1) *figura etymologica*; (2) *replicatio* (the repetition of the same word or of the same root); (3) *geminatio* (the repetition of a word juxtaposed), and (4) the various kinds of *jeux de mots*, e. g. (a) *tautogramme verses*; (b) *asticcio* (the employment in the interior of a line of a word which is equivocal with the end of the line; (c) *bisticcio* (the assemblage of two expressions which differ only by a vowel or two).

Alliteration Dr. Taylor divides into two classes, termed loose and strict. By strict alliteration is meant "the binding or contrasting by means of the same initial sound, of similar parts of speech syntactically coördinated." This is the only kind of alliteration possible of investigation. On the other hand "the binding or contrasting by means of the same sound wherever placed, of dissimilar parts of speech syntactically without coördination," belongs to the other class which is called loose alliteration (p. 9). From this follows the definition: "As to form, strict alliteration in Italian is the repetition of a sound or sounds at the beginning of coördinated similar parts of speech and it reaches its highest development when such sound or sounds fall at the beginning of the tonic syllable." As to their meaning, the separate terms of alliterating groups may be synonymous, antithetic or synthetic, and alliteration is used for rhetorical or mnemonic purposes or for the sake of perspicuity. Theoretically there are three kinds of alliteration, (I) necessary or unavoidable alliteration, necessitated by the national idiom or metrical form; (II) unnecessary or avoidable alliteration, (a) willed, (b) unwilled, mechanical or non-teleological. These may be reduced to (I) and (II), since the investigator recognizes the impossibility of deciding between (a) and (b), in other words, of determining the poet's intention to alliterate, and suggests the investigation of the MSS. in order to discover the erasure of non-alliterating formulas and their replacement by alliterating ones. Fortunately we have the material for such an examination in the works of at least one poet in the critical edition of Petrarch's *Rime* by Mestica. Dr. Taylor has himself given an interesting comparative study

of the use made of alliteration in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* and in the *rifacimento* of the same by Francesco Berni "in which every change that Berni made as well as every word which he left untouched is the result of deliberation." The comparison shows the "Berni holds alliteration as an art means in high esteem." Some interesting problems in connection with this phase of the subject are referred to the psychological laboratory, as "How much predisposition to alliterate exists in the average of men? Does such predisposition vary with different mental or physical conditions? What is the relative ease with which the mind alliterates?" Chapter III contains an excellent list of stock alliterative phrases directly descended from Latin and of alliterative expressions in the popular speech. By way of introduction to the investigation of the use of alliteration in the artistic poets is given a list of examples of strict alliteration in the poetry of the ultramontanes, and, contrary to expectation, "an investigation of the Italian troubadours as to their use of alliteration, either strict or loose, shows that the thirteenth century was not especially favorable to alliteration; indeed there is no period of Italian literature where there is less alliteration" (p. 55). One of the most important parts of the work (pp. 57-74) is the author's contradiction of Kriete's statement (*Die Alliteration in der italienischen Sprache*) that in the *Divine Comedy* there are "nur ungefähr ein Dutzend alliterierende Verbindungen," but Dr. Taylor adduces an alphabetical list of not less than 104 cases of strict alliteration in Dante's works, frequent instances of *geminacio* and a few of *figura etymologica*. Worthy of observation is the decided decline in favor of this figure of speech in Italian poetry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A chart is given which shows graphically that of the twenty-seven prominent poets examined, ranging from Dante to Carducci and Aleardi, Petrarca is most prominent in his liking for the figure, with one instance in 71 lines and Boccaccio least so with only one instance in 621 lines. The average is .78 per cent. and it is quite singular that Dante stands just at this mark with one instance in 128 lines.

According to the definition of alliteration quoted above, the pairs, *infanti* : *femmine* (65); *forza* : *sofisma* (ib.); *sermone* : *mente* (66), *sospiri* : *pianti* (67); *veloci* : *lente* (70); *aperta* : *piana* (ib.); *puro* : *disposto* (ib.); *dispettoso* : *torto* (71); *udire* : *dir* (72); *aperse* : *punse* (73); *circa* : *vicino* (74); *carta* : *incostro* (76); *intempestivo* : *tardi* (ib.); would not be cases of strict alliteration, as they doubtless are, and are catalogued as such. To bring them under this heading it is suggested, with much diffidence, that the definition be amended to read somewhat in this wise: As to form strict alliteration in Italian is the repetition of a sound or sounds at the beginning of coördinated similar parts of speech (*e. g.*, *colli*:

campagna), or at the beginning of the tonic syllable (e. g., *infanti: femmine*), and it reaches its highest development when the alliterating syllables are at the same time tonic and initial (e. g., *ferma: fissa*. In

Provato ho assai, Madonna, di ciansire

Vostra biltade e lo piacer piacente (p. 1), and

Ahi quanto, a dir qual era, è cosa dura,

Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte (p. 62),

are not the italicized groups instances of *replicacio* rather than of *figura etymologica*, since they are not in any of the constructions of the latter mentioned on page 1, but fulfill all the conditions of the former as defined on page 2, while in

E *vinta vince* con sua beninanza (p. 60),

vinta: vince, in which the nominative case is cognated with the verb, is an instance of *figura etymologica*.

The example of strict alliteration in popular speech (p. 43)

Casa mia, casa mia, bella o brutta

Che tu sia, tu mi sembri una badia

is interesting because of the existence of another version, not less common,

Casa mia, casa mia, che picina

Che tu sia, tu mi sembri una badia,

in which there is no play of alliteration. It is possible that the latter version is the original one and that given in the text a case of willed alliteration.

Dr. Taylor's work is unquestionably a valuable contribution to the storehouse of Romance science. He has touched upon all the phases of the subject of "Alliteration in Italian" which would occur to the investigator; the definitions, some of which are quoted above, are admirable, clear cut, terse and yet comprehensive; the lists of examples well arranged and very copious, and the printer's errors (*Di Lollis* for *De Lollis*, p. ix, and *dure* for *dura*, p. 15; p. xv, l. 31, *Morganti* for *Morgante*; ib. l. 31, *Pilippo* for *Filippo*; ib. l. 27, *Macchianelli* for *Macchia-velli*) which have crept in are surprisingly few considering the lexicographic nature of the work.

J. J. D.

The Troubadours at Home, by Justin H. Smith. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899. 2 vols., xxx + 493 and 496 pp. 8vo.

"To bookish folk like us what could be more interesting than the genesis of a literature? What shall be said when it is a modern literature, the most cultivated literature of its age, the literature not of a nation, but of a civilization; in short, the literature of Europe and America?"

It is a far cry from the XIIIth to the XXth century, but it is not so much a difference of seven hundred years which makes the feelings of the troubadours so foreign to our own times as it is that we have almost lost sight of those articles which made up the *Credo* of the Middle Ages, the laws of chivalry, "to believe, obey and protect the Church, to love one's country, to defend the weak of every sort, to be brave, true, faithful and liberal, and always to stand for the right." These were the principles upheld by the troubadours, and an infusion of this romantic or chivalrous spirit into our realistic age of egotism and woman's rights is devoutly to be wished. Mr. Smith's book tells us what are the sources of our knowledge of the world of the troubadours, their position in society, their life, lives and personalities, their ideas and works, the origin, development, decline, death and influence of their poetry, their music and technique. We are told that the purpose of the work is to place this literature before the reader somewhat as it originally appeared, and to make the troubadours stand out as living persons in their proper environment, singing their songs as they made them—only in another language. It is precisely from this point of view that the work is most valuable. It will not, of course, replace the study of the language of the troubadours and of their works in their original dress, but it offers within convenient compass a mass of material, not always well arranged to be sure, but setting us at ease with the assurance that the author has based his account on the results of the investigations of the masters of *romanica*, to whom he is always careful to refer the reader for his authority, volume and page. It is only occasionally, when Mr. Smith draws his own conclusions, reads into the poets or advances opinions of his own, that our equanimity, produced by the work as a whole, is ruffled. But what a relief it is, after the utterly unreliable English books on the subject, to find a work of this kind which will, doubtless, remain for a long time the best to be had in English, not only for him whose idea of a troubadour extends no farther than an acquaintance with Verdi's melodious opera, but also for the specialist, in this at least, that he will enjoy the fresh and racy narrative and description, and this new way of looking upon an old theme. The plan of the work reminds us somewhat of that which Becker employed with such success in his *Charicles* and *Gallus* on the private life of the Greeks and the Romans. It is an account of a journey during 1895 and 1898 through the Midi, over the ground trod by the troubadours. Some of the author's experiences in his quest of the picturesque and the historic were quite amusing and are entertainingly told, as his arrest at Pamiers, and examination before the *commissaire*, such a character as we might meet with in *La Comédie Humaine*.

It is hardly to be expected that in a work covering so vast a field a few inaccuracies, misstatements and misconceptions should not have crept in. With all due deference to the Professor of Modern History in Dartmouth, we beg leave to differ in regard to much of Chapters XXII, XXIII and XXIV. We fear that a love for antithesis, epigram and piquancy has led Professor Smith to say things which he does not intend to be taken literally, but merely as exaggerations for the sake of effect. It is disappointing after reading a page of brilliant description to be referred to a note which tells us that the incident related is purely imaginary and that we know nothing of so and so's personal appearance, or that "Brunenc's bay stallion is merely a guess." It may be that we are so lacking in imagination as to fail to grasp the full content of such passages as "Her (the Countess of Dia's) voice had the color of Alban wine, with overtones like the gleam of light in the still, velvety depths of the goblet; and when she smiled, it was as if she drew from the harp a slow deep chord in the mode of *Æolia*" (I, 100), or of the remarkable description of the still more remarkable landscape (I, 397), in which Mr. Smith outsymbolizes the symbolists; the passage deserves more than a second reading. It is interesting to know, however, that Peire Vidals must have been a tenor, for we are told that his high B still haunts the crannies of the ruined castle of Saissac. The book is full of color, incisive, fresh and cool, and not once dull; clever and smart sayings flash out on every page; but above all Mr. Smith's skill as a versifier is nothing short of marvellous when we consider the difficulties to be overcome, that, in addition to preserving the thought and spirit of the original, its metrical form, even to the rime-sequence, is religiously followed. Among the best specimens of his art may be picked out his rendition of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras' famous *Carros* (I, 70) and of Aimerics de Peguillan's:

"Si cum l'albres que per sobrecargar
 Franh se mezeis e pert sou fruit e se"—
 "As when a tree too rich a harvest bears."

Chapter VIII may be mentioned as most full of information on the intellectual world of the troubadours, Chapter XXXI, "Egletons: A Day's Journey in the World of the Troubadours," as likely to be the most interesting to the general reader, and in note 12 (II, 453-460) the arguments of M. Gaston Paris against the genuineness of the story of Jaufres Rudels and his "*amor de lonh*," "one of the sweetest and most touching symbols of man's eternal aspiration towards the ideal" (G. Paris), are taken up point by point and combated most adroitly, and, as it seems, conclusively.

The name of the publishers makes it almost unnecessary to say that the two volumes are well bound and printed. There are copious excursions, very often more valuable, being more scholarly, than the body of the work, a map of the south of France and no less than 178 illustrations, taken mostly from photographs. The work is heartily recommended to all who wish to become acquainted with the "Troubadours at Home: Their Lives and Personalities, their Songs and their World."

J. J. D.

Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated? An Inquiry. By Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1900.

The impression generally received from historical works dealing with the life and times of Savonarola is that he was a recalcitrant monk whose indignation and zeal against current abuses caused him to forget his obligation of obedience and led him even to the length of disregarding ecclesiastical censures. That he was really banned by the Church is accepted as an established fact, and no incident in his career offers more difficulty to his apologists than the decree of excommunication formulated against the unfortunate friar by Alexander VI. Not a few of his admirers do not hesitate to proclaim his merits and virtues not less than saintly, but an excommunicated saint would be a rare figure in the Church's calendar. Father O'Neil's work, therefore, combating as it does the time-honored recognition of the reality of Savonarola's censure, while it pretends to deal with only one detail of his history, is a very serious vindication of his proper place in Catholic opinion, and is calculated to excite considerable interest.

That the Pope intended to excommunicate the friar, no one can doubt. In 1496 a papal commission was appointed to investigate Savonarola's case, and the members were informed of Alexander's determination to punish him as superstitious, disobedient to the Holy See, schismatic and heretical. Letters sent subsequently from Rome to Florence make it only too clear that Savonarola's actions had been regarded as subversive of the Pontiff's influence and policy, and contain threats of censure which are directed principally against the Dominican. And it is also certain that the Pope actually promulgated a Bull carrying his intention and threats into execution. In a papal letter, published in May, 1497, it is expressly said that since Savonarola has disregarded the excommunication previously threatened against him, "he has incurred it, and under it with damnable pertinacity still lies." If this does not mean that Savonarola was excommunicated, words fail to express the idea. Immediately afterwards Alexander ordered Savonarola's excommunicate state to be proclaimed in the churches of Florence.

The question, "Was Savonarola really excommunicated," would seem to be already answered by both the words and the acts of the Pope. And yet few will turn from a perusal of this present work without at least entertaining most serious doubts as to the validity of Savonarola's excommunication.

The thesis sustained by Father O'Neil, while not a favorite with Church historians, is by no means a new one. Savonarola himself, a canonist of ability, is the author of a long disquisition, in which, with many appeals to learned authorities, he supports his contention that the law had not been fully observed in essentials in his case, and that consequently the sentence was of no effect. His staunch friend, Pico della Mirandola, went more exhaustively into the matter in his "Defence against the unjust excommunication." The well-known attitude of saints like Philip Neri and Catharine of Ricci is hardly compatible with a belief that the object of their esteem had been marked with the final seal of the Church's rejection and reprobation. And this tendency to regard Friar Jerome as more sinned against than sinning, and his condemnation as the result of misleading information given to the authorities in Rome, has found louder voice in more recent times in biographies and in special studies like Father Lottini's "*Fu Veramente Scomunicato Il Savonarola.*"

It is necessary to bear in mind that the question dealt with is a purely legal one, and bears solely on the fact of excommunication. It is not even intended by the author to decide whether or not a valid excommunication could have been inflicted for any of Savonarola's actions. He confines himself strictly to an appreciation of the justice and validity of the censure actually pronounced, and because censures are surrounded with so many legal conditions and technicalities, many of them affecting validity, it is clear that in the present case we must not content ourselves with deciding whether the actions of the censured party merited censure, or even whether the Pope actually declared him excommunicate. The crucial question is, was the law fully observed as regards its requirements for validity? If not, the censure was null and void, and Savonarola was not really excommunicated. Father O'Neil's conclusion is that in Savonarola's case there was no process, no proof, no judgment, such as are demanded by the canons; the necessary citations and warnings were never given; and hence the sentence of excommunication is void. The argumentation is based entirely on documents bearing on the case.

In November, 1496, there appeared a Bull threatening excommunication *latae sententiae* against any one who should impede in any way the incorporation of St. Mark's Convent in the new Tusco-Roman province. The persons against whom this threat was really directed

were the prior of St. Mark's, Savonarola, and his friends, and it was equivalent to a warning. Failure to heed the terms of this letter would certainly entail excommunication. In May of the next year another letter appeared, in which Savonarola was pronounced excommunicate for three reasons,—because he preached pernicious doctrine, to the scandal and loss of souls, because he refused to go to Rome when summoned by the Pope, because he declined to unite St. Mark's Convent with the newly-formed Tusco-Roman congregation. Father O'Neil's statement that there was no Bull of excommunication issued, either of infictive or declaratory sentence, is hardly reconcilable with this last papal edict. But the manner in which the author disposes of the reasons alleged in the Bull leaves nothing to be desired. The charge of pernicious doctrine is dismissed as groundless and a fabrication of the Arrabbiatti. Neither it nor the precept to visit Rome could serve as ground for an anathema, inasmuch as neither had been the object of warning or threat of censure. The third reason is the most serious, and, to prove it insufficient, recourse is had to a comparison between the Bull of excommunication and the letter in which the menace of censure is found. The latter document simply warned all persons not to interfere with or impede the union of convents under pain of excommunication. And yet the Pope says in the Bull of excommunication that he had ordered Savonarola to unite the convent of St. Mark's to the new province, under penalty of excommunication. The difference between the statement actually inserted in the earlier edict and the reference to it in the final one is very material. This discrepancy more than suffices to justify the contention that Friar Jerome was never excommunicated. For the last Bull issued did not inflict excommunication; it merely declared that it had been incurred because a certain command had been given and disobeyed. And since this command was never given and consequently never disobeyed, it is clear that the friar was punished for disobedience of which he had not been guilty. In other words, the excommunication was without cause, and therefore invalid.

This is not the only argument advanced by the author, but is by far the most conclusive. The attitude of the Dominican order, the tendencies of later Popes, the devotion of different saints, the celebration of Mass by the victim on the day of his execution, have at best but a confirmatory force, and in presence of a valid sentence of excommunication would be worthless.

The work is modestly termed an inquiry. The author disavows any pretension to decide the matter finally. And he is careful to emphasize the fact that we are not concerned with an *ex cathedra* papal decision, but with a disciplinary pronouncement in which the Pope relied for

information on persons who longed for the downfall of Savonarola. Especially to be commended are the profuse citations from original documents with which the work is enriched, and the very complete bibliography given in the appendix.

J. T. C.

La Mort Civile des Religieux dans l'ancien Droit Français,
par L'Abbé Charles Landry. Paris: Picard, 1900.

The religious life, founded on the teachings of the Gospel, and developed and formed by the Church, is something purely ecclesiastical. It owes its creation in no wise to the authority or care of the civil power. The peculiar effects, however, of profession in an order, and the increasing wealth and influence of various religious houses, rendered it inevitable that secular law should turn its attention to the consequences of vows. Neglect of a circumstance which affected so vitally the rights of citizenship was not to be expected. And so there sprang up on all sides a body of legislation framed with special reference to religious. The first labors in this direction form an interesting portion of the later Roman law. The development of the Church in Northern Europe saw the incorporation of similar provisions in the *leges Barbarorum*. And modern codes have not failed to determine the attitude of the State towards individuals who have voluntarily cut themselves off from participation in the ordinary life of citizens.

So long as the State contented itself with recognizing the jurisdiction of the Church and supported with its edicts the pronouncements of Popes and councils, there was no reason for complaint. But jurists cried out that public interests were at stake, that the monasteries would eventually displace all other property holders, and that it was necessary to place some check on an evil that was growing only too rapidly. Hence arose the numerous incapacities attached by law to religious profession, which bore on a number of important matters, but which were especially hard in reference to property rights. The religious was civilly dead; his condition differed but little from that of a criminal.

A study of the consequences of this civil death during the later years of the monarchy is the task which the Abbé Landry has undertaken. While he professes to consider only the state of the law in one country at one particular epoch, his citations from the canons are so numerous, and his appreciation of the different questions raised is so just, that the book forms an important contribution to our too scant literature on the status of religious.

J. T. C.

Catholic Mysticism, illustrated from the writings of Blessed Angela of Foligno, by Alger Thorold, London. Kegan Paul (Benziger, New York), 1900. 8vo., pp. 196. \$1.10.

Mr. Thorold is favorably known as the translator of the "Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, St. Catherine of Siena," an exquisite gem of mystical literature. The present translation of the "Eighteen Spiritual Steps" of the Blessed Angela of Foligno places within reach of all another rare monument of Christian psychology. In a preliminary essay he treats in a discursive way of the mystic or ecstatic spirit as the *principe générateur* of all logical consistent Christian life, of the relation of the mystic to the ecclesiastical authority, and of the history of mystical life in Catholicism. Here are, perhaps, the best pages of the book, a touching, because felt, portrait of Saint Francis of Assisi (pp. 80-85). On p. 51, we find the following thought well put, in language that with little modification may be applied to ourselves: "The impression is prevalent in England that what is called Roman mysticism rests on some strained and fantastic view of the obligations of religion due to the fertile imagination of the Latin races. On the contrary, the fundamental element in the psychology of the Catholic mystic is nothing but recognition to the full of the consequences of creation. A modern spiritual writer (F. Faber), who has often been accused of 'Italianism,' most truly says: "If Christianity were not true, the conduct of a wise man who acted consistently as a creature who had a Creator, would strongly resemble the behavior of a Catholic saint. The lineaments of the Catholic type would be discernible on him, though his gifts would not be the same."

T. J. S.

L'Année de l'Eglise, 1899, par Ch. Egremont, Deuxieme Année, Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 664.

This welcome publication, the first attempt at an ecclesiastical Statesman's Year-Book, appears for the second time, greatly improved. So far, the current history of the Church in all the great nations of the world is given. To each people or state are allotted a suitable number of pages. In time these volumes will be indispensable for the historian. We hope that in the future statistical tables will be added, showing the actual condition of the clergy, churches, missions, etc. A brief alphabetical bibliography of the most reliable printed sources available for the current ecclesiastical history of each nation would be of great service; it is not so easy for the average scholar to find out, *e. g.*, the best annual authorities for the church history of Switzerland or Denmark. This excellent guide would also be improved by the introduction of a good

system of paragraphing and the use of bold-faced type at the head of each paragraph. We should also like to see done for the principal nations a résumé of the best works published in each and treating directly or indirectly of ecclesiastical subjects. Such a résumé has been made for France. This year an admirable summary of the public activity of the Holy See is placed at the beginning; it would be difficult to condense more useful information into a smaller space.

T. J. S.

The Life and Letters of Thomas Kilby Smith, Brevet Major-General United States Volunteers, 1820-1887, by his son, Walter George Smith. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

The value of this handsome and carefully edited volume has been attested by the serious attention it has received, both in England and this country, from authorities in military affairs. During the two years since its appearance it has proved of great service to students of military and social conditions at the time of the Civil War. General Thomas Kilby Smith writes without affectation of his thoughts, his intentions, his feelings; but he is by no means introspective. These letters record facts, and the effect of facts, and there is as little analysis of conditions of mind for the sake of such analysis as there is in the Commentaries of Caesar. Their pages are full of minute details which only a man, sure of the acute intelligence, as well as the sympathy of his correspondents, would put upon paper. As the study of the mental attitude of a noble soldier and as a document which will serve to help towards the clearer understanding of social conditions during the Civil War, it is worthy of very careful study.

M. F. E.

The Criminal: A Scientific Study by August Drähms, Resident Chaplain State Prison, San Quentin, California, with an Introduction by C. Lombroso. Macmillan, New York, 1900. Pp. 402.

This volume presents an extended study of crime in its personal and social aspects. The author has the double advantage of having studied carefully and of having had extended contact with criminals as a resident chaplain. As an exposition of current thought and of the tendencies in dealing with criminals, the work is clear and direct. At times the language fails to be as simple as it might, *e. g.*, p. 142; many will take exception to the author's use of the words belief and believe, p. 162. The book is very useful as a summary, irrespective of the theories which the reader may hold regarding the great questions of criminology.

W. J. K.

General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. By

Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. Benziger Bros., 8°, 1900.

This large octavo volume of 600 pages is intended as a text-book for theological students during their course in the Seminary. It will serve equally well as a work of reference for the use of the busy priest on the mission and for the educated laity in general, including professional and even literary men, all of whom have, for a long time past, felt the need of some such work as this for handy reference. Many of the standard works on this subject are ponderous tomes in still more ponderous Latin, which few of the laity have the ability, and fewer still have the inclination, to read.

Father Gigot's work is didactic in form. His language is simple and clear, though not always perfectly idiomatic. His style is concise and written, not with the open hand of the rhetorician, but with the closed fist of the logician. His learning, his painstaking research, and his ceaseless industry are manifest in the well-digested materials that fill this large volume. His method of exposition and his whole manner betray the experienced professor. He never forgets that he is writing an elementary text-book for students, for he carefully avoids all uselessly embarrassing side-issues. He leaves much to be developed by the professor; while, by means of copious references to the best authorities, and an unusual abundance of foot-notes, he facilitates a more thorough study of the subjects handled, and makes it possible for the student to continue his researches almost indefinitely. The chief topics are printed in heavy type,—a great advantage from a didactic standpoint, for it helps the student to get, and to keep, his bearings in a field of studies so vast and so varied as to be bewildering.

After a dozen pages of preliminary remarks on the various names, the number, the divisions, and the arrangement of the sacred books, on the unity, the beauty, and the influence of the Bible, and on the object, the methods of study, and the principal divisions of *General Introduction to Sacred Scripture*, the author divides this first volume into four parts, as follows: Biblical Canonics (six chapters), Biblical Textual Criticism (nine chapters), Biblical Hermeneutics (seven chapters), and Biblical Inspiration (three chapters).

In the first part the author discusses the gradual formation of the collection of inspired books into a body of sacred literature, distinct from all others. The History of the Old Testament Canon, which for many reasons is more interesting than that of the New Testament Canon, is traced from its first beginnings in the days of Moses down through the ages to its close, not long, perhaps, before the time of Christ. Whether the threefold division of the Old Testament into the

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"Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms" is sufficient indication that there were three successive stages of development in the formation of the Old Testament Canon, is discussed with the author's usual sobriety and moderation. His chief aim is the impartial statement of all the facts in the case, after which the conclusion is found to lie on the surface.

In the second and third chapters, the author relates the history of the Old Testament Canon in the Christian Church from the time of Christ to our own day, and discusses the interesting problem of the origin and nature of the differences that existed between the Alexandrian and the Palestinian Canon of the Sacred Books, together with the strangely alternating opinions on the subject in the Eastern and Western Churches.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the history of the Canon of the New Testament; while the fifth and sixth chapters contain an interesting description of the Apocryphal literature on the two Testaments.

In the second part of the book, Father Gigot explains the nature, the scope, the divisions, the methods, and the results of Biblical Criticism in general. After which Higher Biblical Criticism, or the critical history of the human origin of the sacred books is described in broad outlines, a more detailed study of the subject being reserved for the Special Introduction to the Old Testament. As to Textual Criticism, the object of which is to produce an edition of the text as conformable as possible to the archetypal copy, the author points out the materials available for the purpose. They are the manuscripts in the original languages, the Ancient Versions, and the Quotations from any of these forms of the text in the works of early ecclesiastical writers. The principal rules for determining the relative value of various readings are also indicated.

In the first division of Textual Criticism the author describes the Hebrew language, its growth and decadence, its written characters, the substitution of the Aramaic for the older Phœnician alphabet, the gradual growth of the Talmud and the Targums, the vicissitudes through which the Hebrew text has passed, the introduction of the vowel-points, and other devices adopted by the Massoretic Doctors to prevent the further corruption of the text, and the curious history of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The history of the language and the text of the New Testament is similarly treated.

In the second division of Textual Criticism we have the history of the principal Ancient Versions of the Bible. These are the Septuagint (chapter 12), the Syriac Peshitto (ch. 13), the Vetus Itala and the Latin Vulgate (ch. 14), and the English Versions (ch. 15).

The third part of the work, Biblical Hermeneutics, occupies three

chapters. It is interesting to note the strange exegetical methods followed by the Rabbinical and Hellenistic Schools, and the influence they are said to have exercised on the writers of the New Testament. In this connection it is no less instructive to remember what widely divergent views have been held at different times and by ecclesiastical writers of very opposite schools, and to know that their orthodoxy was never thereby called into question, or made an object of censure or even of suspicion.

The fourth part of the book is an Appendix on Biblical Inspiration. This comprises three chapters, the first of which relates the history, the second gives the proofs, and the third discusses the nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration.

In this, as in all other parts of the work, the method is not dogmatic, but critico-historical,—the method brought into vogue, or at least advocated by Richard Simon, and followed in nearly all departments of biblical research. Therefore, the reader need not expect to find a series of categorical propositions defining with mathematical accuracy, and deciding *a priori* the precise nature, extent, and effects of Inspiration. The results of this method are instructive. For the history of the many varying theories as to the nature of Inspiration makes it clear that certain fluctuations of opinion, even within the pale of the Church, were but the outcome of more or less transient circumstances,—a consideration not to be forgotten in forming an opinion of the origin and nature of certain tendencies noticeable even among some Catholics since the time of the Reformation.

To a great extent, Father Gigot plays the role of narrator of facts and exponent of the views of others. In this precisely consists the chief merit of his work and of his method. He supplies the facts and we draw our own conclusions. However, his own opinion, when expressed at all, is characterized by moderation and scholarly reserve. Those readers who are not satisfied unless they find positive decisions and trenchant definitions, with an anathema appended to them by some irresponsible person, will be surprised to see how often the writer, after quoting all the authorities and weighing all the arguments for and against a position, thinks it more honest to suspend judgment than mislead the student by an overhasty conclusion from insufficient evidence.

In the present state of Biblical science, a prudent reserve is the usual accompaniment of extensive learning; for mere subjective certitude is not necessarily a proof of the objective certainty of a writer's position. Indecision is not always considered a defect by those best qualified to judge; for there are many decisions that decide nothing, and leave knotty questions just where they find them. Biblical introduction presents an almost uninterrupted series of problems bristling all over with difficulties, and it is both edifying and refreshing to find an author

of Father Gigot's acquirements modest enough to admit from time to time that there are some vexed questions for which he has found no satisfactory solution.

C. P. G.

Le Drame de la Passion à Oberammergau, Etude historique et critique par Georges Blondel. Paris, Lecoffre, 16°, 1900.

This booklet is a welcome offering from a Paris house that deserves well of Christian letters. In it the traveller will find an excellent guide to the Passion Play at Oberammergau, that last remnant of the great dramatic "mysteries" of the Middle Ages. As the railroad now reaches the village, the pilgrimage is no longer difficult. Whoever is privileged to look on this magnificent *Christus Patiens* will want a friend of experience and sympathy to make known to him the origin and beauties of the great play, as well as the human interest of the little village of sculptors in wood, the creation of good and simple works in the thirteenth century and henceforth one of the world's civilizing and religious influences. Let all such read these papers; they are also well adapted for private reading, being accompanied by maps of the stage and the vicinity.

T. J. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Sermons for Every Sunday in the Year. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A. M. New York: Pustet. 1900. Pp. 351.

General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. Francis E. Gigot, SS. New York: Benziger. 1900. Pp. 606.

The Church of Christ the Same Forever. By D. McErlane, S. J. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. 1899. 8°. Pp. 163.

Jesus Christ; A Scriptural Study. By Rev. James H. O'Donnell. Boston: Hurd & Everts. 1900. Pp. 54.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By Herbert Cardinal Vaughan (2d edition). Herder, St. Louis. 1900. 16mo. Pp. 127.

The People of Our Parish, being Chronicle and Comment of Katharine Fitzgerald, Pew-holder in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1900. 8°. Pp. 254. \$1.00.

Fabri Conciones, (Selected) Sermons of Rev. M. Fabri, S. J. Translated from the Latin by Rev. M. T. Conway, Christian Press Association Publishing Company, New York and San Francisco. 1900. 8°. Pp. 311.

Cosmologie Hindoue d'après le Bhâgavata Purâna par A. Roussel, prêtre de l'Oratoire. Paris: 1898, T. Maisonneuve, 8°, pp. 399.

Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes et les diverses collections canoniques, II^e vol. Dissertation Critique, par M. Eugène Revillout. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1898. 8°. Pp. 626.

PUBLIC LECTURES, 1899-1900.

During the winter and spring of this academic year two courses of public lectures were given in the Assembly Hall of the University. In the Wednesday Course the general topic was Social Economics. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor and Honorary Professor of Social Economics in our University, delivered ten lectures on "Socialism;" Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Associate Professor of Sociology, two lectures; and three lectures by Dr. Charles P. Neill, on politico-social topics. The subjects of the Friday Course were taken from Philosophy, Literature, Philology, and the Natural Sciences. The lectures of the course were delivered by Dr. Edward L. Greene, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Professor of Botany; Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy; Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, Professor of English Literature; Rev. Dr. John J. Griffin, Professor of Chemistry; Rev. Dr. Richard Henebry, Professor of Celtic; and Dr. John J. Dunn, Instructor in Latin. In addition, Dr. James Field Spalding, of Concord, Mass., gave two lectures on topics of English Literature.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright: "Communism the Forerunner of Socialism." December 6.

Socialists generally do not like to be accused of holding communistic views, yet communism, properly considered, is the mother of socialism, because communism is a philosophy belonging largely to the domain of property. As the idea of individual property grew out of common ownership or community of goods, so communism seeks to drive individual property back into the communistic state from which it emerged. The idea of separate, individual ownership is a growth of comparatively recent date, and is the result of great social changes and of progressive developments extending over vast epochs of time. Communism seeks to reverse these changes and carry communities back to the infancy of tribal relations.

Socialism, while not advocating the communistic ownership of lands, in the sense of ancient communism, does advocate the ownership by the state of all lands and all tools of industry and the control of the same for the benefit of the whole. The distinction between the two, communism and socialism, is the distinction between simply pure democracy and a republican form of government. Communism is extreme democracy; that is, everything being

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done by the community at large, without any separate, or even share, ownership in property. Socialism is extreme republicanism; that is, socialism seeks to have all things controlled by the representatives of the people. Communism has been denominated democracy gone to seed, and socialism, republicanism gone to seed.

One cannot consider modern socialism in all fairness, and with the spirit of justice, without considering the historical and comparative views of communism, nor without considering the experiments in socialistic government. All such experiments, whether in communism or socialism, have never resulted in the establishment of a state. The idea that socialism is a new philosophy or system is incorrect, as there are instances of socialistic efforts running all along through history, both in ancient and in medieval times, and comprehending Europe and Asia. In ancient times it was the habit of new leaders or men who desired to come to the front as such to advocate a general division of lands and of wealth. Even in the time of the Gracchi bonds and evidences of debt were collected and burned. The idea was to restore in a measure individual equality.

Communism as a system or a philosophy has always been a revolt against injustice and social and industrial incongruities. It has been the cry of reformers, coming from the heart as well as from the head, but it has also been the cry of the extreme demagogue, who wished to curry public favor by advocating the division of property. All communistic experiments having a political basis have been failures.

In this century there have been many efforts to establish communities where all goods were in common, and even wives and children held in common, but these experiments have been established more particularly upon a religious than a political and industrial basis. This country has seen many such experiments, but nearly all of them have proved failures. They flourish for a period only, because the communities trade with the world, which is not communistic. The lessons of communism are among the most valuable in the study of social economics.

"Romantic Socialism." December 13.

So far as socialism relates to property and the control of industrial enterprises, it is communism, but systematized communism. So far as it relates to social inequalities, it attempts to grasp results without the progressive but always plodding processes of development which pertain to all other lines of development whether moral or material. In what socialism wants to see accomplished, in relation to many of the social questions, there is much not only to indorse with warm approval but to claim warm sympathy. It is this sympathy which led to many works which may be called romantic socialism. There were two classes of ro-

mantic writers, the principal ones writing back of the French Revolution. They were Sir Thomas Moore, Bacon, Morelly, and Baheuf. The romantic writers since the Revolution were St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Marlow, Cabet, and, in a certain sense, Louis Blanc. These writers are called writers of romantic socialism because they were given to speculative schemes for social regeneration, not treating man as he is, but as they would have him, and they paved the way for Marx and La Salle.

During the 20's and 30's of this century there was a wave of transcendentalism, revivalism, and social reform which passed over France, England, and the United States. Fourier's romantic schemes impressed many men, and phalanxes in accordance with his plans were organized both in France and in this country, one of the most noted here being the Brook Farm experiment in Massachusetts.

Robert Owen's romanticism, as that of all others, grew out of warm sympathy with labor generally. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that this wave of feeling which has been mentioned should result in many experiments, most of which, however, proved to be failures. That in 1842, in Algiers, by Marshal Bugeaud, and that in Paris after the insurrection of February, 1848, are prominent examples of failures.

It is curious that in all the writings of later days on socialism, including the romanticists, little or no mention is ever made of the practical attempts to establish a communistic or socialistic community. All of these attempts relate to the history of our own country. Our forefathers had something of the socialistic in their make-up, and the settlement at Jamestown, as well as that at Plymouth, was started on a semi-communistic plan. At Jamestown the settlers had come without wives and children, and each man worked not to acquire property for himself and his family, but to further the general purposes of the colony. A premium was thus at once put upon idleness. So President Smith applied his strong hand, and informed the colonists plainly that they must all understand that hereafter he that will not work shall not eat.

The same experience accompanied the settlement at Plymouth. Under the conditions of agreement formed at Leyden in 1620 between the pilgrims and the merchant adventurers, it was provided that all profits and benefits from trade, traffic, or otherwise should remain in common stock until a division, and that all such persons as were of the colony were to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock and goods. It was soon found that this plan would not work, and that it was practically a premium upon laziness, as at Jamestown. Individual efforts, initiative, and results were necessary to bring the Plymouth colony out of its dangers.

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A few such practical experiences destroy all the results of romantic socialism. Since the French Revolution, which may be said to have divided the romantic from the scientific schools, socialism has occupied a different attitude. Between the two schools came Marx and La Salle, representing more than their predecessors what may be called the scientific socialism of the present age.

"Modern Socialistic Platforms." December 20.

Enough has been said in the first and second lectures to establish the historical basis of communism as the genus and socialism as the species of a great social and industrial philosophy. It is not essential that we should discuss the village communities of India or of Russia, or the Teutonic idea of the community, or the growth of monastic communism of the fourth century, none of which belong particularly to the development of modern socialism. It is only essential that the historical and philosophical comparisons be understood that modern socialism may be brought into clear light.

The recent demands of the socialists, when examined, do not strike us with any feeling of alarm. They seek a reduction in the number of hours of labor in a day, and in proportion to the progress of production. They ask for the legal incorporation of trade unions; that the United States should have the exclusive right to issue money; that Congress shall provide for the scientific management of forests and waterways and prohibit the waste of natural resources. They advocate a progressive income tax, and a tax on inheritances; compulsory education, with free books and other necessities essential to enable children to receive the benefits of education. They ask for the repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws, and the granting of the unabridged right of combination. They insist upon the collection of official statistics concerning the condition of labor, the prohibition of employment of children of school age, and of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. They also ask for the abolition of the contract labor system in prisons and in other places. They insist that all wages shall be paid in lawful money and that there shall be equalization of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed, together with laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law; also, that no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

Now, these demands are not revolutionary, in a political sense. Most of them are approved by conservative economists, and many of them have already and long since been incorporated in the laws of States.

Their more radical demands are that the United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and

all other means of public transportation and communication; that municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; that all public lands shall be declared inalienable, and that land grants to corporations or individuals shall be revoked whenever the conditions of the grants have not been complied with; that all inventions shall be free to the public; that the unemployed shall be employed by the public authorities, whether by the county, city, state, or nation.

To carry out these later demands would result in an industrial revolution, and yet there are many men who are not socialists, who have no sympathy with socialistic methods when political and with the socialistic party, who believe in them and do not hesitate to advocate them. There cannot be much danger in the present socialistic platform as adopted in this country.

In addition to the foregoing, the socialistic labor party makes some political demands, the more important of which are the referendum and the initiative; the abolition of the veto power of the executive, whether in national, state, or municipal affairs; the subjection of all officers to recall by their representative constituencies, free administration of justice, and the abolition of capital punishment. These general demands contain the germs of all socialistic demands as to property, namely, that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and communication—in other words, lands, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals, etc.—become as fast as practicable the common property of the whole people through the Government. This is French and German socialism to-day. It is the active principle of socialism, and is the same in both continents, and is virtually the same socialism taught in the past by its greatest advocates.

"The Relation of Single Tax Doctrine, Nationalism, Anarchism, and Nihilism to Socialism." January 10, 1900.

The lecturer did not undertake to discuss the merits or demerits of the single tax doctrine, the purpose of which is to abolish all taxation save that upon land values. As the essence of socialism is "to each man according to his needs from each according to his abilities," the doctrine of Henry George is a species of socialism, although Mr. George himself was not a socialist. The author of the doctrine admits that, carried out, it would result in public ownership of land, not through the confiscation of all land, but through the confiscation of the rent on land values, thus allying his doctrine to the principles of the socialists.

Anarchism is the antithesis of socialism, although the anarchists and the socialists are aiming at the same end, in one sense; as illustrated by their combination in the international working men's asso-

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ciations founded in 1864, when they worked together in agitation with diametrically opposite theories, the socialists wishing to avoid inequality by increasing state interference, the anarchists by abolishing it. Each was trying to secure equality in conditions. The anarchists wished to have property held by communistic associations of workmen, formed freely without political compulsion. The socialists, as represented by the social democrats, wished to have property and all the instruments of production held by the community through a political revolution which should change the nature of the state, although preserving it to some extent. Philosophical anarchists do not advocate violence in securing their ends, but believe in the power of moral principles similar to those of the early Christian church, hoping by the adoption of such principles to do away with the necessity of law, with the result of bringing all to an advanced individualism. This allies the anarchists, in the results to be obtained, to the socialists.

The nihilists, representing on one side the extreme of Russian revolutionists and on the other those who believe that by doing away with particular forms of objectionable government they can secure universal equality, are erroneously supposed to be partisans of universal destruction, having no constructive elements in their program, but this is not correct of a large section of the nihilists. Nihilism has for its immediate object the overthrow of the autocracy, reckoning, however, solely upon the power of the proletarians. They give prominence to the agrarian question, appealing largely to the masses of the peasantry on the one hand and to liberty-loving, educated people on the other. The chief weapon of nihilism is organized public opinion, through which it is hoped that the government can be compelled to yield to the demands of the people, which "include alike the conception of the right of the people to political freedom and the conception of their right to satisfy their material needs on the basis of national production." This allies the nihilists to the socialists, who believe that the state should conduct all production, industrial as well as all other public functions.

Nationalism, which grew up after the writings of Edward Bellamy, is simply a modified and mild state socialism. The adherents of the doctrine believe that the state should gradually take over to itself function after function and industry after industry until finally it should control all.

"Social Democracy and State Socialism." January 17.

When the word "socialism" is used without restriction or explanation one generally means the socialism of social democracy, but this species of socialism has as many phases as writers upon it. It is on the whole, however, what might be called primitive social-

ism, or more nearly, as Schaffle defines it, communistic socialism, because it means the entire revolution of government and the management of industrial affairs through groups, communities, etc. While social democracy has been advocated in some form through all periods of history, its greatest modern advocate was Carl Marx. State socialism, as against social democracy, covers the theory that the State should extend its functions by taking over gradually, and as conditions warrant, the means of production, transportation, etc.; that there should always be the State back of everything, but that the State should look more thoroughly after the economic conditions than formerly. Ferdinand Lassalle may be considered the most important advocate of State socialism as against social democracy. He believed in the extension of co-operative movements, backed by the State, and while he did not project the modern State socialism of Germany in its fullness, he was, nevertheless, a powerful advocate to bring about State socialism.

Curiously enough, State socialism has been seized upon by States themselves as a buffer against social democracy. The compulsory insurance laws of Germany constitute a strong instance in this direction. It was thought by the late Chancellor Bismarck that by the introduction of such insurance the tendency of social democracy could be restricted. State socialism is beginning to gain everywhere, as evidenced by many laws enacted in different countries under which the State assumes more and more the patronage of private industries and enterprises. Social democracy makes but little headway, because its advocates, as inducements to adherence, are apt to take on the doctrines of the State socialists instead of their own, hoping that after State socialism has proved a success social democracy will have sway. The German State socialists, as represented by Dr. Schaffle, do not hesitate to declare that social democracy is an impossibility; that the true line of work, not only to offset social democracy but to really improve conditions, lies in what they call social reform, which is a species of State socialism. They repudiate the whole doctrine of collectivism.

"Municipal Socialism." January 24.

Municipal socialism belongs to state socialism, the tenets of municipal socialists being the same as those of state socialists, except that municipal socialists in the United States do not claim that the municipality should take over to it productive industry, but only those public utilities which are carried on for the general benefit of all citizens. All cities in all times have been socialistic in this sense. It has been only a matter of degree. Rome had its public aqueducts and other enterprises for the benefit of its citizens.

In the last twenty years municipal socialism has made great advances in its achievements. The construction and care of streets,

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docks, ferries, are among the earliest enterprises of municipalities. Water works and the lighting of streets have long been the care of city governments. There are in the United States, in round numbers, 3,475 water works, of which 1,700 are conducted under private enterprise, and 1,755 by municipalities themselves. In gas the municipal control or ownership has been rare. There are 965 gas works in the United States, of which only 14 are owned by municipalities, all the rest (951) being conducted by private corporations. In electric lighting plants the municipalities have taken a wider action. There are 2,651 such plants in this country, 2,194 being private and 457 owned by municipalities.

The success of municipal works, whether in water, gas, or electricity, depends very largely upon the integrity of management and the business principles put into it. Private works are more carefully managed, as a rule, because profits are at stake; but with the same kind of management, with the same care as to cost and the preservation of all the interests of the public, there is no reason why these public utilities should not be conducted under municipal control or ownership with as much success as by private corporations, and this has been the result where such conditions prevail. These utilities partake somewhat of the character of industrial production; hence their ownership or control by the municipality exercises the public more than other matters, like the construction and care of streets, docks, and ferries, or the removal of garbage, the establishment of public libraries, parks, art galleries, etc.

Many cities of this country and Europe have long indulged in the socialistic plan of furnishing music, lectures, and other entertainments free to the public. Some cities have also done much in the improvement of the slums by establishing municipal dwellings, as has been done in Glasgow and London, especially in the latter city by the London County Council. The erection of free baths is now attracting the attention of the public everywhere as an enterprise in which the municipality should engage for the health and well-being of the whole public. The management of street railways has never been undertaken in this country by municipal governments, but in England and in some of the cities on the Continent this has been done, but with questionable success so far.

There are many natural conditions antagonistic to municipal ownership and control of utilities. There are also many conditions essential to success. Civil service, purity of the government, and a most enlightened public sentiment, are essential for the proper management of municipal enterprises. In small cities and in towns where the public comes in close contact with the officials these conditions are the most favorable. On the whole, the question as to the extension of municipal enterprises is one of business, and not of socialism.

"Co-Operation a Phase of Socialism." January 31.

The essential principles of socialism are association and solidarity, and these apply to co-operation; in fact, they are the essential principles of society in all its movements. Co-operation is, therefore, allied to socialism, and the experiments under it, although individual and fragmentary, not seeking at present universal application, are but attempts to apply the underlying principles of socialism itself.

Etymologically, co-operation means to labor together. It has an industrial significance. Its application to productive industry is still largely experimental, and the experiments that have succeeded in most instances are not purely co-operative, for pure co-operation involves the etymological significance. Men must labor together in order to co-operate fully. Simple co-operation means where several individuals furnish not only the capital and material for production, but the labor also. They share the expense of management and divide the profits. This form of co-operation has never succeeded for any length of time, because each co-operator soon judges the amount he receives in relation to the amount of labor contributed, and as skill and capacity vary in individuals, dissatisfaction arises when the division of profits is equal.

Co-operation, as proposed by its early advocates, contemplated a social transformation, introducing into the operations of industry and trade—that is, into the operations of production and distribution—such principles as would overcome the evils that attend competition. It aimed to reconstruct society upon the communistic basis, its motto being "Each for all and all for each," rather than the common one of "Every man for himself." Individualism it deemed contrary to the general good, and it sought to substitute for individualism some system of joint endeavor through which the laborer, the capitalist, and the consumer should be brought into relations of mutual help rather than to remain in their usual position of rivalry.

Ideally, something like this is still hoped for by ardent co-operators, but practically no such social transformation has yet taken place. Competition still flourishes, and the reconstruction of society upon a communistic basis is not to-day the chief end of co-operative endeavor. The co-operation of the present that is highly successful relates to the distribution of products rather than to production. It is co-operative trade, not co-operative labor. Co-operative distribution has in some cases paved the way to experiments more or less complete and more or less successful in co-operative production. In the sense of mutual effort, co-operative distribution has one its greatest triumphs.

Mr. Holyoke, author of "History of Co-operation," defines it as, in the social sense of the word, a new power of industry, constituted

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by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist, and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality by which honesty is rendered productive. It is the concert, he says, of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment. This definition would apply very well to socialism, because the later writers on socialism, or rather the more enthusiastic adherents of it, describe the new state to grow out of socialistic endeavors as the co-operative commonwealth.

Co-operative distribution, so called, is not co-operation, because it does not take into consideration the welfare of the producer. In co-operative distribution the consumer simply shares in the profits derived from his own trade. Such co-operative enterprises are simply gigantic middlemen, transferring all the evils of competition from one class to another, and not reforming society, as original co-operators expected.

"Phases of Industrial Socialism." February 7.

The principles of co-operation have been extended beyond those relating to distribution and ordinary production, as cited in the last lecture. Co-operative agriculture is beginning to be a feature of farming which promises great results. Creameries are conducted in England, on the Continent, and in this country on the co-operative basis, the producers of milk contributing their product and taking their share of the results. So in the purchase of agricultural implements by small farmers, especially where machinery is too expensive for a single farmer to purchase it, the principles of co-operation are being applied. Products are sold through co-operative methods, thus avoiding losses which the individual producer ordinarily sustains. There are agricultural syndicates in Europe which market products and purchase fertilizers and all the things needed for farming. Through this fraud is prevented and cost reduced. The fruit unions of California may be cited as phases of this question. So may co-operative housekeeping wherever it has been tried, and the insurance known as mutual benefit, where the insured pay an assessment whenever a death occurs. This is pure co-operation, and belongs to the primary school of elements of socialism. Co-operation is socialism, in the sense that what it seeks to do is in the direct line of socialistic theory to cause labor, when expended with equal judgment, to bring to all the same reward.

Arbitration as a phase of industrial socialism offers many interesting considerations. It is in reality an attempt of society to regulate the affairs of producers. Arbitration methods, whether private or State, are a declaration to employers and employees that if they cannot adjust their affairs in such a way as to avoid annoyance to the public the community will undertake to assist them.

Labor exchanges, as carried on in this country, are a novel development of the co-operative movement, and are quite socialistic in their nature. The distinctive characteristic of the labor exchange from other forms of co-operation is that its advocates regard true co-operation impossible within one industry. So under the labor exchange any member deposits with it any product of his labor and receives therefor an exchange check of the same denomination as the officers of the exchange think would be the local wholesale price in money. These goods are then marked up to the usual retail price. The depositor uses his check to buy from the exchange anything he finds there that he wishes. By virtue of this redeemability in goods, though never in legal money, private merchants and others are to some extent induced to accept these checks as money, but sometimes at a discount. At the present time all profits are devoted to the extension of the movement. The labor exchanges are being watched with a great deal of interest to see their development and how far they will contribute towards increasing the trend to socialism.

The various methods of profit-sharing between employer and employee, the Metayer system, or farming on shares, share fishing, and such matters all belong to the movement to secure the ideal of the later socialists—the co-operative commonwealth.

"Socialism of Labor and Capital." February 14.

In the preceding lectures the subject of the doctrine of socialism as a force in bringing the world to it has been discussed, but there are other forces not particularly allied to the body of socialists or connected with the socialist labor party which are giving impetus to the socialistic idea, and these are organized labor and organized capital.

The first attempt to bring the wage-earners of the world into the socialistic ranks was through The International, organized in London in September, 1863. It grew out of Marx's vehement demand of the working men of the world to unite. The International, however, took on the different sentiments of different countries, and became socialistic here and anarchistic there, while in England and the United States it was simply an advanced position for trade-unionism. It came to an end after the insurrection in Paris in 1870 through the extravagance of its demands. It brought to it men of various thought, like Carl Marx on the one hand and Bakounin, the Russian apostle of nihilism, on the other. In the United States, as in England, The International was at first considered a mere union of organized labor in all countries. When its real character was ascertained trade-unionists left it.

The next great effort was not an international one, but one of great importance—that was the establishment of the Knights of Labor, which sought to make industrial and moral worth, not

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wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness. This order was quite socialistic in its various features, seeking, as it did, harmonious wages of all trades. There have been many efforts to revolutionize the American federation of trade-unions, the chief effort being at the Denver congress in 1894, at which time the federation declared for municipal ownership of street cars and gas and electric plants, and for the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines; but it defeated the broad, socialistic program providing for the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution. Attempts have been made to capture trade-unionism in England, and in 1890 the new trade-unionism, so-called, secured the control of the congress at Liverpool. Since then the conservative element has been brought to the front again, and socialism has largely lost its control. In so far as labor unions seek a monopoly of labor, they are allied to other monopolies, and help to create the idea and familiarize the people with state ownership.

As against labor capital is doing much to create socialistic thought and familiarize the public with the idea of supreme control of industry. Socialists look upon trusts and industrial combinations as the entering wedge in this respect. Socialism, like trusts and combinations, undertake to eliminate competition among members of great groups. The interstate commerce act of 1887 was a socialistic movement, because it declared the right of the government to demand just and reasonable railroad rates and gave the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision of rates. The next great measure is that which will provide for the pooling of freights, and subsequently of passenger traffic. This brings to the Federal Government the practical control of the railroad systems of the United States, and establishes a monopoly, the very essence of government itself. The nature of the state need not be discussed; monopoly is its essence, and many people see in the attempts to control railroads and great industries by small groups of men that educational influence which will compel all men to see that the state itself may take their places. As it is, ten men control the 2,050 railroad corporations of the country, not directly, to be sure, but as a matter of fact.

Experiments in public control and ownership will be costly, but business principles will prevail. Gradually, although slowly, governments will take on different functions relative to industry and transportation, but it will be because the public is satisfied that the government can transact certain classes of business better than private individuals. It is not socialism broadly, but business principles, which the public will accept. We need have no fear over the socialism of labor or of capital.

"True Socialism." February 19.

In this discussion of socialism I have not approached the subject as a political economist nor as a socialist, for I am neither, but I

have undertaken to show the strong and the weak phases of socialism as its principles have been variously applied. Its failures are innumerable. Its achievements have surprised conservatives, and yet these achievements have been adopted and their results assimilated without revolution. Wherever socialism has been a success it has been the result of the application of business principles in the socialization of industries. One cannot fail to comprehend the efforts of socialists in any era in which they have worked as indicated by their statements and conceptions of an advanced moral principle, which must form the basis of any possible higher state of civilization in the future; of the duty of regarding the common interests of all in preference to pure and undisguised self-interest as the ruling spring of human action, and of the principle of true socialism, which is not every one for himself, but looking also on the things of others; nor should we fail to see the evils which socialists aggravate to crimes by their exaggerations.

The mass of socialists in the old and the new world are actuated by the highest and the purest motives, and their efforts have led and are likely to lead in the future to the conviction that the true interests of the individual and the community are best served in making true, humane feeling our guide in the conduct of life. They stumble on the fallacy which has attended the life and work of Count Tolstoi. He thought by leveling himself down he could bring all up. He did not seem to recognize that the true socialism of the affairs of this world was to be secured by bringing all up to his standard. He impoverished himself that he might help the impoverished. He should have enriched the impoverished and brought them to his own high level.

The vital essence of the American character is overpowering individuality of our citizens. Social democracy and American character are, therefore, at war with each other, and the two cannot exist. The chief aim in all socialistic schemes has been to remove competition, but the competition under socialism, with individual selfishness remaining, would be far worse than that which exists at the present time. Their proposal that each should receive according to his capacity—that is, salaries or profits, any name but wages, should be proportionate to the work done as to quality and quantity—is nothing but competition under another form. M. Thier wittily summed up one of the crucial weaknesses of socialism when he said: "You can readily get a man to die for his country, but you cannot get him to make pig iron for his country." This is eminently true. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* does not apply to the conditions of a cotton mill, but if human beings can be induced by any principle or set of principles to work for the interest of country as well as for themselves—that is to say, socialize their labor and all their efforts for the benefit of the whole community—then they will bring

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in the true socialism, the socialism which recognizes every man's right, and that no man's right should be carried out at the expense of injustice to others. This socialization can take place only under the broadest and strictest application of that body of principles which we call religion. It represents the true socialism of the citizen by the parable of the ox standing between a plow and an altar, ready for service or for sacrifice. It is this that makes constructive socialism; it is the evolutionary, not the revolutionary; it is that form of socialism which is embodied in a religion, which holds in its power the church, the state, industry, commerce, and the whole social fabric.

Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby: "The Idea and Nature of Society." Feb'y 28.

The attention now paid to the study of social phenomena is partly the result and partly the cause of a change in the attitude of men toward society; the commonplace view has been replaced by that of the scholar. This series of fifteen lectures devoted to the study of social sciences is therefore thoroughly in accord with the temper of the times.

An examination of the many ways in which the word society is used reveals to us that in all possible social groups there must be purpose sought by the united efforts of members. The individual alone is relatively or absolutely helpless. The sense of this necessity impels him to unite with others. We may then present the following as elements in the development of human society or of particular social groups: (a) Common purpose; (b) the individual as such helpless to attain it; (c) organized action; (d) necessity the spring of all association; (e) capacity its limitation. We may apply this analysis to the various orders of being, its value will then appear. In the mineral kingdom, individual objects exist and develop, and are relatively independent as a general rule. We find among them neither necessity of union with others, nor capacity for such union nor any possibility of purpose. All the elements of our analysis are therefore negatived. In the vegetable world, we find that plant requires plant, tree requires tree in order that it may begin to exist. Nothing more is required. We find then one necessity—a corresponding capacity—a single purpose in the union of plants. Advancing to the animal kingdom, we find varied purposes, corresponding necessity and capacity for association among animals. But all the purposes and capacities seem to reduce themselves practically to the necessities of physical existence. We find among them no progress—no change—no retrogression—everything is fixed. Advance to man. Regarded merely as animal, he has necessities that are greater, more varied and pressing than the mere animal, and which make necessary constant association with fellow men. But through reason, man's distinctive capacity, new and higher necessities enter his life and countless possible purposes lend to human

association, a variety, meaning and character which give majesty and power to it. Capacity for progress opens an endless vista of purposes for associated life; man's yearning for self-development impels him to seek their realization; nor does his capacity limit him in his seeking.

Man's capacity for association is general; his necessities and purposes are specific. At first glance, the spectacle of human society seems one of confusion. Federations, empires and races; parties, professions and schools; caste, class and religions all seem confused. Yet by applying our analysis, we may classify all in such a way as to reveal clearly the wonderful play of association in human development. Every group, be it the athletic club, the political party or the State, reveals the same philosophy, the same logical processes in origin, development and preservation. We have seen in this study the origin of social groups; in that to follow, we will take up the relation of Social Traditions to their development and preservation.

Dr. Charles P. Neill: "Development of Political Institutions." March 21.

Democracy was one of the earliest forms of the political life of the Aryan people in the Western world. But the democracy of the ancient world differs from our modern idea of democracy in two ways: In the ancient states citizenship was limited to the few, and in some cases over four-fifths of the inhabitants were disfranchised and entirely outside the pale of citizenship. But if we consider only the citizens of the state, these early democracies were purer forms than our own. In them every citizen took part in the government of the state directly and personally, and not, as with us, through the medium of an elected representative. Representative government was unknown to the ancient world, and it was because of their inability to devise such a form that these early democracies were destined ultimately to perish. A pure democracy, in which each citizen sat in the general assembly that made laws and ruled the state, was possible so long as the state was only a single city and its environs. It was manifestly impossible if several cities should coalesce into a greater state, or if one city should extend its dominion over a wide expanse of territory. Thus, the absence of any effective principle of representation prevented the city-states of Greece from ever uniting and forming one mighty and enduring democratic state. The isolated city-states fell one by one under the dominion of Macedonia, and Greece only attained unity when she had lost democracy. So too, Rome began in democracy, but knowing no such device as representation a democratic state became impossible when Rome had grown to include all Italy, and still more so when the state had grown to embrace the world. With the passing of the Roman Republic, a democracy became only a memory in Southern Europe.

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But long after it had ceased in Greece and Rome, it endured in all its early purity amongst the Teutonic tribes of Northern Europe. When, after the fall of the Western Empire, the Northern invaders set up their states on the old Roman soil, a coalescing of systems took place, and the feudal régime emerged. In its development the trend was away from democracy and toward absolutism, until popular government had disappeared from all the larger states of Europe. It required the upheaval that marked the close of the last century to restore it to Europe. But its history in the group of islands lying off the Western coast of Europe was very different from its history on the mainland. The invading hosts there set up the institutions they had known at home, and they worked out their development uninfluenced by Roman survivals or by the existing political systems of the natives. Here, too, as in the ancient states, the pure democracy disappeared with the growth of the state in size, and finally gave way to an aristocratic monarchy. But in the administration of the smaller areas of township and shire a device had been adopted that was destined to preserve the form of popular government, and ultimately lead to its restoration. When the area of the shire became so large that attendance on the assembly of the shire became too onerous a burden for the mass of the population, the plan was adopted of sending up from each township in the shire, as its representatives, the chief officer of the township and four chosen men. During the struggles between the Crown and the Baronage at the close of the thirteenth century each side sought the aid of the "third estate," and adopting the well known plan of representation so long in use for the court of the shire, the "commons" were from time to time invited by one side or the other to send up chosen men to represent them in the great council of the nation. By the beginning of the fourteenth century this plan, copied by chance, we may say, from the court of the shire became the accepted practice, and after that time the aristocratic council that had, centuries earlier, supplanted the great popular assembly, was never summoned without the representatives of the commons being summoned also. Thus the pure democracy of the early time had disappeared and been supplanted by an aristocracy, and this in turn is supplanted by what in the course of centuries has come to be a representative democracy.

"Phases of Economic Growth." March 28.

The present social struggle is a phase of economic growth. Social struggle must always accompany changes in either the social structure or the prevailing popular philosophy. Changes in the economic structure of society may bring it about that existing economic institutions press more and more heavily on one portion of society, until this portion inaugurates a struggle to recast the social structure

with a view to readjusting burdens. Or, changes in the popular point of view as to human rights, may bring it about that institutions long existing, and long accepted, may come to be challenged and judged in the light of new principles. The social struggle now going on around us is due to the operation of both these causes. Since the close of the preceding century the philosophy of democracy has been winning acceptance rapidly and steadily in the Western world, and everywhere political society has been recast to bring political institutions into closer harmony with the principles of democracy. At the same time, changes in the economic structure of society have been carrying us as rapidly and steadily in the opposite direction and rendering economic institutions less and less in harmony with the spirit of the age. Just at the moment when it seemed that the long struggle of humanity to realize the fullest measure of its rights had borne fruit, the laboring class awoke to the fact that the rapid change in economic conditions in the century elapsed since the Industrial Revolution had rendered impossible of attainment in economic relations the very principles for which all the centuries of political struggle had contended. In consequence the old struggle for human rights is renewed, and it now takes on an economic rather than a political character. The present struggle is due to the attempt to force our existing economic institutions into harmony with the concept of the laboring man as a human being and entitled to all the rights and consideration that human dignity implies. The Catholic Church has always stood for this concept of the laboring man; our whole body of political philosophy is in harmony with it; and an increasingly large number of thinking men are voicing the principle in our current discussion. But our existing economic institutions in their actual working deny, and even outrage the principle. The only law we recognize as governing our economic relations is the law of supply and demand, and the effect of the operation of this law, unchecked by any ethical principle, is to degrade the laboring man from the dignity of a human being to the level of a machine. The problem confronting society at the opening of the new century is to force our economic institutions into harmony with our ethical conception of "the human laboring man." The plans proposed for the attainment of this end range all the way from proposals to modify this or that particular institution, to plans for the complete overturning of the existing economic order, and the substitution of an entirely new régime. Thus profit-sharing, co-operative production, labor organizations, strikes, consumers' leagues, the single tax, socialism—these are all means proposed for the more or less rapid attainment of the same end. Our problem is, first, to sift the new ethical interpretations that are put forward as the basis of the demands for change, and determine which of them are valid; and, second, to force our economic institutions into harmony with these, at whatever cost. In this work the student of

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ethics and the student of social institutions must co-operate, and neither can hope to accomplish much without the aid of the other. The study of society and social institutions is approaching the dignity of a science, and no moral or religious leader should essay to deal with the great problems of the day without availing himself of all the light that modern social study has placed at his disposal.

Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace: "The Concept of Immortality in the Philosophy of St. Thomas." December 8.

The starting point in the discussion is the relation between soul and body. These are not, according to St. Thomas, two separate substances, nor are their functions merely parallel. The soul is the principle of all vital activity whether conscious or unconscious. It co-ordinates the functions of the organism and maintains the identity of the individual life. Death implies the falling away of the bodily elements from their union with the soul. It must also bring about important modifications in the activity of the mind, especially in those processes which depend upon organic function. But the soul itself survives and preserves intact its higher powers of intellection and volition. This survival is not conceived by St. Thomas as an absorption into the Being of the World; what he insists on is personal immortality. Nor does he admit that the soul passes through successive incarnations. He points out, however, that the particles of matter which from time to time have entered into the organism and shared in its life, persist as realities after their release from the vivifying influence of the soul.

"The Argument of St. Thomas for Immortality." December 15.

The mere fact of consciousness is not a guarantee of immortality; the brute is conscious, but is not immortal. The desire for immortality, though full of significance, is not put forward by St. Thomas as the principal argument. And while he maintains that the soul is simple and therefore indivisible, he does not thence infer that it must survive. His contention is rather that the soul possesses in its own right and not by a grant from the organism, the title to existence. In support of this view he shows that, whereas all bodily functions originate in the soul, there are certain forms of mental activity which issue from the soul itself. Strictly speaking, it is more correct to say that the brain depends upon the soul than to say that the soul depends upon the brain. Hence, at death, the dissolution of the organism does not involve the lapse of the soul into nothingness. In other words, the main argument used by St. Thomas rests upon the self-supporting subsistence of that principle which is the source of our intellectual processes and, jointly with

the body, the source of all the activities that make up our life. Immortality is thus the continuance by the soul alone of that life from which the organism has lapsed.

Dr. Maurice Francis Egan: "Literature and Life." January 12.

Dr. Egan, in his first lecture, speaking of the definition of literature, said: "Literature is so closely the expression of life and the changing conditions of life, that we can hardly limit it, except by life itself. Literature, as far as it can be described to-day, is more than the reflection of life; and it is much more than it seemed to be to the Athenian Greeks, the Augustan Romans, the French of the time of Richelieu or the Italians of the Renaissance; for, in their eyes, it was a narrow thing capable of rigid definition."

In his "Comparative Literature," Professor Posnett says that works of literature, whether in prose or verse, "are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest number of the nation rather than instruction and poetical effects, and appeal to general rather than specialized knowledge." Mr. Posnett goes on to say that "every element of this definition clearly depends on the limited spheres of social and mental evolution—the separation of imagination from experience, of didactic purpose from aesthetic pleasure, and that specialization of knowledge which is so largely due to the economic development known as 'division of labor.'"

On close comparison with the thing defined, Professor Posnett's definition proves as unsatisfactory as hitherto all definitions have proved. It is plain that the "Inferno," "Paradise Lost," and the first part of "Faust" are noble works of literature. And it is plain that the object or effect of these three masterpieces is not to give pleasure—even that higher pleasure of which the Utilitarians admit the existence. There are great poems, like "Sordello" and "The Ring and the Book" of Browning, that are beyond the liking or understanding of the greatest number. Admitting that the Inferno is literature, and, leaving out the question as to whether it appeals to the many or not, we cannot help seeing that Professor Posnett's definition does not touch it. I accentuate his definition because it is largely accepted and because Professor Posnett assumes that it is scientific. Literature cannot be judged as literature by the Utilitarian criterion. To make it a matter for the suffrage of the greatest number is to take it into the ground now occupied by politics. Erudition or science or experience are only unpoetical when the poet is too small for the weight he attempts to carry.

If we deny the value of this definition, how can literature be defined? I am not sure that the big word literature can really be defined. I am not certain that the great and overhanging subject it stands for can be rigidly described. But it seems to me that to-day literature is the expression in writing of thought, experience, observation,

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emotion, mood, knowledge personally expressed. Newman comes very near to this in his definition of style. *Scientia*, pure and simple, is not literature; for it is pure truth; but *scientia* expressed in a personal manner, according to certain canons of taste, is literature.

"The Pedigrees of Books," January 19,

The mission of literature is to express the qualities of men and to express their qualities personally. The modern interpreter of literature who yearns to bring it under the term science is attempting the impossible. Its highest function is to express life. Literature of itself must, until the world shall all be one way of thinking and feeling, be as varied as Milton's leaves in Vallambrosa—for no two leaves are exactly alike, though they are all leaves.

Still the value and beauty of literature is best studied by processes of comparison which may be called scientific. Every book has its pedigree, and the ancestors of books, like the ancestors of people, cannot be entirely separated from the soil in which they grew. The sentimental romanticism of Goethe, as evident in the "*Sorrows of Werther*," is due to the influence of "*La Nouvelle Heloise*" of Rousseau, and Rousseau was also the father of "*The Sentimental Journey*;" but before Rousseau we find that other sentimentalist, the Abbe Prevost, whose book, "*Manon Lescaut*," was the predecessor of "*Paul and Virginia*." "It is evident," to quote from Joseph Texte, "that the literature of the modern epoch—and perhaps of all epochs—neither develops nor progresses without imitating or borrowing. It is necessary in order to make original works germinate, to prepare the soil with the debris of other works."

The mere investigation as to whether one book is an imitation of another is not so important or vital as the analysis of beauties that have stimulated greater beauties in another book.

A great book is not like an atom in an exhausted atmosphere—since, I believe, we are told that there is no such thing as vacuum. It touches other books on all sides. It makes of each nation, as Joseph de Maistre says, "a contemporary posterity," and of each individual who reads it a "centre of permeative influences."

Mr. Egan gave examples of the pedigree of books and of the influence of author upon author. Among these were the descent of Tennyson from Theocritus and Sir Thomas Malory, of Emerson from Plato and Montaigne, the kinship of Keats and Maurice de Guérin.

"Modern Literary Movements," January 26.

"All psychological or social movements are the results of successive conditions and reactions, the laws of which have not yet been formulated, and which have had their counterparts in the past ages of the world. To speak of any movement as exclusively literary—that is, as exclusively expressed in letters—would be incorrect; for the aspirations of the human race do not confine themselves to the expression of letters."

Mr. Egan analyzed and traced the development of classicism into romanticism, of romanticism into realism, of realism into naturalism, the return of romanticism through the Preraphaelites and the rise of symbolism. This change he pointed out in the several great divisions of literature, the drama, the novel. Beginning with Shakespeare he pointed out the romanticism of the drama up to the restoration, the ascendancy of classicism under Addison and Pope, the rise of democracy with the novel, the romantic revolt of Victor Hugo, of Scott, the realists Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, De Balzac, the French naturalist, and finally the tendency to romanticism of the present day, and its development in France into symbolism.

"If the poetry of Chaucer is romantic in spirit, it is only so in the sense that it was bound to no narrow treatment of subject or to no fixed models or imitation outside the poet's intellectual taste. The introduction to the *Canterbury Tales* is realistic. No modern novel could, in the best sense, be more so. 'The Knight's Tale' is romantic, if you will, because it clothes the Greeks of the old legends with the panoply of the Middle Ages. Theseus, the Greek, becomes a Duke, and the apparatus of the story of Arcite is brought down to the point of view of the fourteenth century. If we call Chaucer romantic because he represented life as he saw it and delighted in his own time, why not call Homer romantic?

"If Pope and Addison were aristocratic and classical, 'icily regular, splendidly null,' they preceded an era of democracy. The time when Addison could assume the mantle of Dryden and become an autocrat of literature was rapidly passing. The day of the patron was passing. The great Dean Swift might go about among his noble friends extorting guineas for his "little Papist poet, Pope;" but the years were at hand when historians, poets and all book-makers were to appeal to the people, not to a coterie. The *Hotel de Rambouillet* and the year 1600 were gone forever; the ladies, whose criticisms made or unmade Corneille, who encouraged the young Bossuet, and displaced a court preacher because they could whisper to that arbiter of letters, the Cardinal Richelieu, that he used non-academic words, had passed like the snows of last year. The time was coming when the democratic idea which did not concern itself with kings or princes was to find expression in letters and to dominate. In France it came out in the romantic revolt of Victor Hugo; from '94 until his time, it had been as sordid in letters as the *Marats* and *Robespierres*, who let loose the hurricane of Revolution. It was an appeal of the individual to individuals. In France it was a conscious revolt, with principles and a formula. In England it expressed itself in a new vein of history; but, first, in the novels of Fielding and Smollett.

"Macaulay announced his theory of the historian's changed point of view, and faithfully put his theory into practice. The memoir, the diary, the letter became the material for the writer of history. It was no longer a question of the progresses of Louis XIV or of the plan of Waterloo; the lives of the men who fought, the social conditions of the families who staid at home—all these were now things for the new investigation. The legend of Stephenson sitting by his mother's fire and discovering the action of steam replaces the story of King Alfred and the burned cakes in the neat-herd's hut; the picture of Franklin and his kite found more admirers than that of the foolish Canute and the advancing waves. In fact, the waves had soused the king; and, if a monarch had burned his cakes, people saw no reason why he should not eat them or go without. Macaulay's method was exaggerated by Froude, with whom history became the personal expression of untruth. History to-day concerns itself with humanity, and it may be called the expressed psychology of the people, for the people are no longer incarnate in the person of the king.

"Few writers on Christianity have acknowledged its debt to the imagination. They have tried, following the lead of reformers, to support it by common sense—when the fact is that the highest form of religion has as little to do with common sense as it has to do with the stock market. The apostle who made himself a fool for Christ's sake was as much beyond the understanding of the average man of common sense as the ordinary reader of cheap magazines is below the poet of the Apocalypse. Sir Walter Scott, pioneer of the movement of aspiration, used the form of prose and the form of the novel; he was fortunate in that; the imagination of England caught fire. He showed that there were forgotten splendors in English faith and love. He repeople the cathedral and the abbey; he showed that the England of the Middle Ages was not the England of Fox's 'Book of Martyrs.' He cast aside the curtains of the commonplace and the English beheld a new world all their own.

"Balzac's *mise en scene* is as realistic as Dickens', but he is often as romantic and grotesque as Dickens. Still, he is held in France to have begun that misnamed realistic movement which ought to have had for its motto 'Anything that the Devil does we shall deem it our mission to exaggerate.' Realism, analytical realism, was acclaimed tumultuously. Balzac, the De Goncourt's, Flaubert, followed one another. England already had as realists as to method, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot; and a realist who pretended nothing, who assumed nothing, who had no relations with the French school, but who belonged to the school of Miss Austen. This was Anthony Trollope. It was truly said of him that so long as men and women of the English upper middle classes existed, he could go on writing. 'Barchester Towers' and 'Orley Farm' are

the most typical examples of English realism, after 'Pride and Prejudice,' in our language. Mr. Howells and Mr. James have given us new men other good examples, tinged somewhat the self-consciousness of 'A Modern Instance,' 'The Rise of Silas Lapham,' and 'The Portrait of a Lady' and 'Washington Square.' Of these 'Silas Lapham' shows plainly the influence of Balzac.

"Realism itself could not escape analysis; the newer men wanted to dry it as the chemist dries alcohol. Every drop of water must disappear. And then the Darwinian movement was affecting life. Realism, after all, must be synthetical, since even the most scientific of the new school was forced to call in the aid of the imagination. There was the difficulty. Besides, Balzac—even the all-seeing Balzac—hesitated to say some things; Flaubert had his reserves. The movement of realism was hampered by prudery and it was not sufficiently scientific. It must be scientific; it must hitch, as it were, a potato cart to that roaring young steed, Evolution.

"In the fine arts we have been much affected by a movement which is partly literary. It was a stream flowing from the great romantic river of the beginning of this century—the river of romanticism that helped to fertilize the Tractarian movement. The Pre-Raphaelite reaction meant the saving of England from Philistinism. It was a revolt against the unintellectual conventions that had stifled the beautiful in England. Ruskin, who, if he had lived a hundred years would have died too soon, gave it force in literature and in the art of painting; Tennyson exemplified it in his earlier poems; Dante Gabriel Rossetti gave form in his verses and pictures. The intensity of the movement, its archaism, its affectations, almost sent the pendulum swinging back to Philistinism; but the education of the people had gone too far. Admiration for the great masters before Raphael, the demand of Ruskin that all artists should seek the beautiful in nature and depict it naturally, the accepting of simple forms, differentiated and distinct, in preference to the artificial symbols of nature which conventional painters had used unreflectingly were essentials of this movement. The influence of this Pre-Raphaelite movement spent itself in literature with 'The Blessed Damozel' and 'The Earthly Paradise.' But in the art of painting, especially in the revival of the older forms of beauty for household decoration, the Pre-Raphaelite revolt has been very potent.

"The clue to the romantic reaction—by which the Oxford movement was vitalized and from which the Pre-Raphaelites had their being—is thus named by W. J. Courthope in 'The Liberal Movement in English Literature:' 'If we are simply and solely positive we shall not be able to create at all. The exclusive scientific order which the philosophers who have appropriated the title of Positive would impose upon society is more remote from the reality of nature, or,

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at least, of human nature, than the wildest extravagances of the "Arabian Nights." The revolt of the romantic school against the excessive realism of the eighteenth century ought to prove a fortiori that men will not tolerate an intellectual system from which the mystical and religious element is altogether excluded.'

"The study of these literary movements—which I have so inadequately sketched—must make for that high culture, which is only essential, spiritual, vital, when it circles continually about the eternal truths of God."

Rev. Dr. John J. Griffin: "The Liquefaction of Gases." February 2.

The lecturer began by alluding to the earliest ideas in regard to the atmosphere, and then sketched briefly the different steps in the development of our knowledge of gases, illustrating his remarks by means of lantern slides of the men and apparatus by whom this progress was accomplished. Von Helmont, the first to recognize a difference in gases, and who invented the term gas; Boyle, Gay Lussac and other prominent investigators, from whose experiments the various gas laws and the concept of "absolute zero" were evolved, were mentioned, and then the work of Davy and Faraday, who first attacked the problem of liquefaction of gases in a really scientific manner, was described in detail.

Pictures of Thilorier's apparatus, in which carbonic acid was liquefied on a large scale, of an explosion which emphasized the dangers of working with gases under great pressure, and of Aime's novel method of attaining great pressures with absolute safety by sinking bladders filled with gas to great depths in the ocean were exhibited.

Then followed a rapid survey of the recent work in liquefaction, in which costly and intricate apparatus and expensive chemicals in large quantities were employed as agents of compression and cooling, until Charles E. Tripler, a New York mechanic, purchased a second-hand boiler and compressor, and pumped air into several hundred feet of copper tubing terminating in a valve of his invention, which permitted some of the highly compressed air to flow back outside the tubing in which it was confined, cooling the latter so thoroughly that in a few minutes the air inside was liquefied and could be poured in pailfuls on the floor.

The liquid air used in the demonstration came from New York, and was brought upon the stage in a large, felt-lined can. The can was uncovered and clouds of vapor appeared to ascend from it, giving the audience the impression that it contained a quantity of boiling water, but the experiments which soon followed disillusioned them.

The liquid air was of a bluish tint, and was slightly turbid, this being due to minute particles of solid carbonic acid floating in it. When filtered through ordinary filter paper into a special double-walled glass receptacle, it had a clear sky-blue tint and remained quiescent.

Dr. Griffin poured a dipperful on a large cake of ice, and it sizzled and bubbled like water on a red-hot stove. Some was poured into a teakettle, which was then placed on the ice, and a stream of vapor shot from the spout, increasing in violence when a piece of ice was placed in the kettle. The vessels in which the liquid air was handled were soon heavily coated with frost. Articles of food, fruit, eggs, a beefsteak, were immersed for a few moments in this intensely cold liquid and taken out as hard as rock. A rubber ball and the tin dipper used to ladle out the air, flew into fragments on receiving slight blows of a hammer. Mercury was poured into a paper mold shaped like a hammer and taken out and used to drive a nail through a board.

Alcohol was frozen, a steel watch spring, one end of which had been heated to redness, was plunged below the surface of the liquid, and blazed and scintillated, scattering sparks throughout the vessel and falling in glowing drops to the bottom. As the air diminished in quantity by evaporation it became richer in oxygen, the nitrogen boiling off much more rapidly than the former constituent of the atmosphere. A piece of paper wetted with the air was ignited and disappeared in a flash. A small sheet of boiler felt, after being soaked with liquid air and touched with a match, went off like slow-burning gunpowder. These, and a number of other experiments, impressed on the audience the marvellous properties of this new discovery, and were followed with the keenest attention on the part of the audience.

"Some Triumphs of Synthetic Chemistry." February 16.

The work of a chemist, who sees in the bubbling and boiling of the contents of his retorts and flasks, in the color and other changes they undergo, indications and evidences of a motion and rearrangement of the tiny particles which he calls atoms, and who brings forth from these mixtures new compounds, possesses an air of mystery attractive in itself, but when the chemist explains his method of work, telling how he perceives and identifies the changes and groupings of these minute particles, too small to be seen even by the most powerful microscope; how he discovers their mutual relations in complex natural substances; how he then brings several elements together so as to form these same natural products, one marvels at his wizard-like powers, and can hardly understand that these wonders are but the application of well-defined scientific principles and not manifestations of magic.

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The lecture began with a brief description of the discoveries which led to the principles on which constitutional or structural formulas are based: Wohler's synthesis of urea in 1828, Liebig and Wohler's work on the radical of the oil of bitter almonds, and Dumas' concept of types. Perkin's formation of the first aniline color, mauve, was illustrated, and the beginning and marvelous development of coal-tar preparations were described and made clear by numerous lantern slides and experiments. The latter were performed in small glass tanks, so constructed as to permit of their being introduced in the lantern in the place of the ordinary slides. The various reagents and color-producing compounds were placed in these tanks, and the changes taking place therein were visible in the greatly magnified image on the screen. Some of the effects were curious. The instantaneous production of brilliant tints, spreading like clouds over the screen, when two colorless liquids were mingled, the action of the air in producing color, as in the case of the change of indican to indigo, the curious effect producing the impression of rapidly-growing vegetation, which followed the placing of minute crystals of a green coloring matter on the surface of the water in the tank, were but a few of the great number of interesting experiments made visible to the entire audience in this manner.

One very impressive experiment showed the effect of increasing the density of the molecule by substituting for some of its hydrogen atoms various radicals or groups of elements. To illustrate this the transition of aniline yellow to a deep brown, and that of the deep scarlet of rosaniline through various shades of violet to bright blue, were shown by projection, the variation in color and shade being clearly evident.

The perfection in industrial chemistry, due to scientific methods of production, was made manifest by illustrations of the factories and processes by which many valuable compounds are prepared synthetically, besides being extracted from natural sources. In this series of views, those illustrating the production of the costly oil of roses, from the gathering of the flowers in the extensive rose plantations of the company, to the finished products that are in demand all over the world, were of peculiar interest.

The probabilities of synthetic alcohol were next dwelt upon, and the exhibition of a specimen of the substance obtained from limestone as the raw material, brought the lecture to a close.

Rev. Dr. Richard Henebry ; "Irish Literary Monuments and Their Contents." February 9.

Gaelic literature extends in uninterrupted continuity from prehistoric times down to our own day.

The first class of monuments are the Ogham inscriptions incised on stone monoliths, showing an independent system of alphabet and

a most archaic type of Gaelic. The letters are scores, either single, or in groups up to five, fretted on the arras line of the stone, or on either of the meeting faces. Those inscriptions are sepulchral in character, usually exhibiting merely the name and patronymic of the deceased. They prove that the Irish possessed an alphabet of native invention and that they enjoyed an immemorial use of letters.

Following on these came the Gaelic personal and place names in early Latin writers, native or foreign, and next in order the inscribed stones of primitive Christian times in Ireland. These are written with Latin letters, in Gaelic, and in nearly all cases bespeak a prayer for the dead.

Almost coeval with the earliest of those is the first Gaelic written in books which has come down to us. This comprises the glosses, or words and short sentences in Irish of an explanatory or exegetical kind, written between the lines or on the margins of Latin manuscripts. The principal collections are found in St. Gall in Switzerland, Wurzburg in Germany, and Milan in Italy. They are the oldest and purest examples of the Gaelic language that we now possess, and are the main source of the immortal *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss. Those fragments cover the period from the seventh to the tenth century.

There follow all that now remain of the great books of Ireland. Those are huge tomes written on vellum at various times from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. The multifarious character of their contents is a faithful reflection of the myriad wonders of Irish thought, art and learning, extending even to the civilization belonging to the prehistoric epoch of Keltic unity. Some of these books have been published in fac simile by the Royal Irish Academy; the "*Lebor na Huidri*" and the "*Book of Leinster*" notably. They constitute Ireland's claim to recognition as a primitive and independent centre of literary activity on a level with Greece, Rome and ancient India. They preserve a large portion of primeval Keltic tradition free from taint of foreign influences and endowed with a freshness and vigor that lends them a quality of surpassing interest now.

All compositions written within the period from the sixteenth century to the present day are called modern Irish. The works of the Four Masters and Dr. Jeffrey Keatynge are the principal monuments of this division. Here the literary style finally meets and mingles with the folk-speech of to-day. The language in its present phases, by its copious vocabulary and extreme mobility, is as fitted to convey thought and to serve all the purposes of human commerce as any in existence, and is sustained besides by a literary tradition that is unique in the commonwealth of letters.

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"Gaelic Melodic Schemes in Word and Sound." March 2.

A, in word. In ancient Ireland there were two classes of poets, the Bards and the Filid. The rights and privileges of each class are defined in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote. The Filid were the professional poets, the Bards mere rhymers. Nowadays one hears much of Bards and nothing of Filid, a proof that many of our modern sources of knowledge are of but feeble inspiration. Bards were of two kinds, Doer-Baird and Soer-Baird, each comprising eight subdivisions in a regularly descending scale. To each minor class was assigned its peculiar metre, with privilege always of composing in the metres proper to the Bards in a lower grade. The Filid were classed according to the years of their college study; and as the course lengthened from seven to twelve years, so their degrees were increased in like manner. The title of Ollam always represented the highest degree in the poetical caste. A File ranked next to a prince. His privileges were almost without limit. In order to attain to such an exalted position he read a long and arduous college course as rigorously defined by programme as the curriculum of any modern university. A detailed examination of the material for study reveals a wonderfully high state of development in the department of ancient Irish civilization concerned with the making of poetry.

The defining characteristics of traditional Irish poetry were: Exact syllable reckoning, regulation of the length of ending words, a fixed caesura for every metre, neglect of the best accent, while a number of vocalic and consonantal correspondences took the place of cadences in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit poetry. These correspondences were initial or final. The former is called alliteration and as such needs no further specification; the latter rhyme. Rhyme was of three kinds. First, (a) rhyming vowels agreed in quality and quantity, and the consonants following were the same, as in full English rhyme, or (b) the following consonants were not the same, but related to each other by being in the same class; second, in monosyllabic words only the consonants following the vowels were the same or related; third, the *deide* rhyme. Here the second rhyming syllable was unaccented, a phenomenon without parallel elsewhere. Combination of those poetic expedients evolved a total of 318 regularly known and classified metres.

The modern prosodial system begins to appear in the sixteenth century. Its characteristics were: Beat accent, alliteration and vocal assonance; the main peculiarity being the lavish use of those assonantal occurrences. Apparently a skeleton of vocalic succession, was first chosen and the song made to correspond with it. For instance, a poem by Dr. Keatynge has in every line the following scheme of vowel sounds in the accented places: *ó á á ó í*.

With those poetic expedients the number of possible metres was of course infinite.

B, in sound. Irish music differs from modern in that it possesses a peculiar ineffable tone-color. This arises from (1) differences of scale; (2) differences of keys or tonics; (3) differences of accent and phrasing.

1. Irish music is composed on what is called a gapped quinquegrade scale constructed on a chain of fifths. It differs therefore radically from the modern scale, is utterly incommensurable with it, and hence music composed upon it can never be rendered by the modern scale. This will appear if the modern and Irish scales be set down side by side, marking the interval between each tone.

Modern major scale:

C major, D minor, E semi-tone, F major, G minor, A minor, B semi-tone, C.

Irish Scale:

C major, D tone and a half, F major, G tone and a half, B^b major, C.

Here we find the modern scale has three classes of interval, major, minor and semi-tone, whereas the quinquegrade scale has but two, viz., three major intervals and two long gaps each a tone and a half in length. Again in the modern scale the tones are so related to each other that there arise the complications of tonic and dominant. In the quinquegrade scale each tone was independent and assumed those functions at will. Hence any single note in the scale might be regarded as fundamental for the time being and a new scale built upon it as tonic. This introduces the next discrepancy.

2. Differences of keys or tonics. The modern scale is rigid. If to the key of C given above there be prefixed the signature of two sharps, that signifies merely that every tone is raised a major interval. The key signature shows how high or how low each tone must be played, but the scale remains precisely the same. The foundation of all music being reduced to such meagre dimensions, modern musicians strive to amplify it by occasional use of the so-called minor keys. On the other hand, Irish music retained the full wealth of mediaeval scale systems. Each note becomes tonic in its turn, and thus five different scales were evolved. Representing a major interval by — and the long gap by x we have the following five scales:

- 1° C — D x F — G x B^b — C.
- 2° D x F — G x B^b — C — D.
- 3° F — G x B^b — C — D x F.
- 4° G x B^b — C — D x F — G.
- 5° B^b — C — D x F — G x B.

Afterwards under the influence of ecclesiastical Plain Song semi-tones were added to the Irish scale. Another major interval was

inserted in each long gap, leaving two equal semi-tones. If scale three above so completed be the ground-work of an Irish air it is evident that it approaches pretty closely in construction to a strain built on the modern major scale, because the semi-tones will fall between the third and fourth and the seventh and eighth, still many of its intervals will be a little too sharp, as may easily be evinced by a comparison of the two kinds of scale with their inequalities of interval. Such an air could be rendered approximately by a modern musician on an instrument tuned in the modern manner, but the subtle shades of tone, the essential mark of Irish music, would of course be lost.

3. Differences of accent and phrasing. Modern musical expression is an outcome of the conventional rules formulated in Italy about two hundred years ago, and is so artificial and limited in range that all its phases can be adequately expressed by a few common directions for playing. But nearly every Irish air had a peculiar character and mood of its own that could not be defined on paper, and so was learned directly from performers who played according to the method and technique of tradition. Of course strangers or natives who have broken completely with this tradition modulate and define their phrases and give expression after the Italian manner. The whole performance is such a silly and impertinent travesty of Irish music that it is a marvel nobody objects to it, the more so that real Irish music may be had yet in plenty.

Moore's Melodies are regarded as the very soul of Irish music. But even if these airs were not vitiated and botched beyond recognition in other ways they are no longer Irish music for the reason that they invariably conform to the canons, not of Irish, but of modern musical art whenever those diverge from each other.

Old women still sing and chant Irish music and country fiddlers who retain the traditional style of rendering still play it. Elsewhere a sorry sham has boldly taken its place. And that is sung, played and applauded as evidence of our forefathers' musical skill, whereas it is no more Irish than the English brogue which ignorant persons think is the only Irish language. Irish music cannot be played on instruments tuned in the modern way, nor printed in books according to the modern mode, nor made to throb its palpitating old-time soul message in the mincing accents of modern saccharine sentimentality.

Dr. Edward L. Greene: "The Plant World in Relation to Physical Man."
March 9.

It is only by the intermediation of plant life that the continuation of animal life on our planet is possible; for the animal can not consume, digest and assimilate that which is mineral; but the plant does this. Thus the plant world is, first of all, the great natural

food laboratory for man and beast. The inorganic or mineral kingdom does, indeed, supply us with a considerable number of products—salts, acids, alkalies—useful in the preparation of our food, or serviceable as medicines; but it gives to no form or phase of animal life anything, air and water excepted, which we could not do without. The plant must take up from the earth and take in from the atmosphere, the crude elementary substances of things, and make them into food for us; and not only food, but also clothing material, and a thousand other useful products. Thus is indicated, in outline, the intimacy and the fundamentality of the relationship which the plant world sustains to physical man.

The most important foods, with at least four-fifths of mankind, are those commonly designated as the farinaceous; foods in which the substance known as starch predominates. All plants, except those of the lowest and simplest organization, produce starch, storing it up in certain cells, as bees store honey, for future use. A very great diversity of special organs, in different plants, are devoted to the storage of this nutriment. In the wheat plant, for example, as in all other cereals, the seed is the special repository of this nutritive substance. Each grain, when perfected, consists of a diminutive germ, the seat of its vitality; and this embedded within, or at least intimately connected with many times its own bulk of cells filled with starch. Now this alimentary substance which the wheat plant elaborates, for the nourishing of its own germ, happens to be among all the varied products of nature's laboratory, the one most admirably adapted to become food for man. And with some further preparation, at the hands of man, it becomes bread; and on this alone human life can be supported, as in primitive times was often proven, in perfect health and undiminished vigor, from childhood to extreme age.

The body of this lecture was given to the description of the different commercial products yielded by plants, to serve as food, or as furnishing medicines, beverages, clothing and other necessities, conveniences, comforts and luxuries to man in his physical being.

"The Plant World in Relation to Spiritual Man." March 16.

By the expression spiritual man, as far as here employed, our whole incorporeal being is to be understood; the spiritual as the antithesis of the physical in man. The lecture is, therefore, a tentative development of the idea of the plant world's influence upon the intellect and sensibilities; and its bearings upon the mental, moral and religious faculties.

The first suggestion here is one which follows directly upon our dependence on this realm of nature for our food, clothing and shelter. For while various plant products, and large quantities of them, are essential to our continued existence here, it happens that nature does not yield us all this spontaneously. In order to have these

products of hers we must work for them. And so out of this physical interrelation between plants and man arises the most primitive, fundamental and universal motive to human activity and industry, both physical and mental. It furnishes the original occasion—so to speak—of human choice between the virtue of industry and the vice of indolence.

In the developing of a taste for the beautiful in form and color, the plant world has no doubt held the chief place. As a faculty, this susceptibility to the influence of the beautiful belongs to man alone among the creatures that occupy this planet with him. No naturalist or philosopher would suggest that quadruped and reptile realize the agreeableness of the verdure of the fields and forests wherein they disport themselves; or that birds and insects are conscious of the beauty of the flowers over which they hover and from which they sip the honeyed nectar of their food. As a gift bestowed by the Creator on man alone, the place which it holds among his faculties is an exalted one. The appreciation of the beautiful in form and coloring is allied to the taste for music; or, if not allied, they may at least be classed together as similarly bespeaking man's exaltation above the rest of the animal kingdom, just as the possession of the religious faculty exalts still farther above the rest.

Other points discussed at length in this lecture are the influence of trees and forests upon the sensibilities, and especially in developing certain finer tastes. And the importance, as a means of education, or mental development, of the study of the whole philosophic system of the plant world in its relation to other departments of nature.

Dr. J. Joseph Dunn: "Origin of the Romance Languages." March 24.

From the *prisca latinitas* of Rome there sprang two dialects, the one the popular, called *sermo plebeius*, *quotidianus*, the other the literary, called *sermo perpolitus*, *eruditus*. While the former was living the natural life of a language, in a constant state of change, the latter had met with a check to its further development in the literary movement of the first century B. C. These two idioms were not separated like oil and water; there was a constant borrowing on both sides and thus a tendency towards a mean. It is this average, colloquial, every-day Latin, that which was living in the consciousness of the people no matter to what class they belonged, which is meant by popular or vulgar Latin, and it is this sort of Latin which was brought with the Roman Conquest to the different parts of the Empire.

Of the provinces first and most thoroughly romanized was that one called "Provincia" *par excellence*. In addition Latin has survived in Northern Gaul, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, parts of the Helvetia, Rætia, Dacia and Macedonia, besides in the Channel, Balearic and

Italian islands, and sporadically on the coast of the Adriatic; while in Britain, Germany, Noricum, Pannonia, Africa and the Hellenic East it was submerged by the waves of barbarian invasion which swept over those regions.

In its propagation among the indigenous peoples of the provinces the Vulgar Latin suffered two kinds of changes, the one internal, the working out of natural tendencies arrested in the literary Latin; these are common to the whole domain; and external, by contact with the native or with the non-Latin invading peoples; these are confined to the separate provinces. The strongest element of the latter kind is the Germanic, which has affected, most of all, the Vulgar Latin of Northern Gaul, not so much in phonology as in vocabulary. The Arabic has left traces of its influence in Spain and to a less extent, in Portugal, Sicily and Southern Italy, and the Keltic has undoubtedly modified the Latin, especially in Northern Gaul and Northern Italy. But, in comparison with the Latin, to these and to the other foreign elements is due but a small part in the formation of the Romance Languages which concord in having the same grammatical structure and lexique but differ mainly in phonetic character.

Latin did not spread in ever enlarging circles with Rome as their common center, but was carried, now to one place, now to another. Every time a colony left Italy and every time the colonies themselves sent forth shoots a new variety of Latin was formed. These phases of the Vulgar Latin, modified according to time and space, are the Romance or Neo-Latin Languages. Among these dialects some in the course of time gained the ascendancy over the others and, owing to no inherent merits, but having their *raison d'être* in political or historical reasons, reached the dignity of literary idioms which, for the sake of convenience, it is customary to enumerate as the Romance Languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal, Raetian, Franco-Provençal and Roumanian, to which must be added the innumerable lesser dialects, subdialects and patois.

"Troubadours and Trouvères." March 30.

The most marked distinction between the ancient literatures of the north and of the south of France is that while the former, the oitanic, is especially prominent in the epic, drama and narrative, the latter, the ocitanic, is almost entirely engrossed in one form of art, the artistic lyric. This is but an outgrowth of the popular songs of the menestrels and joglars, the descendants of the mimi, scurrae and jocolatores, the public amusers of the ancients. With the growth of ease and refinement a brilliant society was formed, especially in the South, and the singers of the people were promoted from the cross roads and taverns to the intimacy of the castle life. These are

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the poets whom we call troubadours and trouvères. The words have primarily only a geographic or linguistic difference, and, to the best of our knowledge, are derived from a suppositional *tropare (built on Lat. tropus "song," and so meaning "to compose musical airs") according to the scheme:

tropare > Prov. trobar. O. Fr. trover

Singular, subjective case: trobátor > Prov. trobaire, O. Fr. *trovere*.

" oblique case: trobatórem > Prov. *trobador*, O. Fr. *troveór*.

In the reduction of cases the italicised forms, modernized according to a law of French phonology, have survived, hence troubadour and trouvere. The troubadour was "the knight errant of literature," half guest, half courtier, a sort of nomad, free to come and go when and wherever fancy led him, respected, honored, loved and munificently rewarded, and to this encouragement and support is due the fact that the mediaeval literature of France, of the north as well as of the south, has no analogues in the Romance domain. Poems of more than 400 troubadours have come down to us and we know the names of many others. Among them were kings, princes and other nobles, but the most celebrated troubadours were men of lowly birth. The cradle of the aristocratic lyric poetry of Gaul was Poitou and Limousin, the intermediate region between the north and the south of France, and the first troubadour of any importance was William IX, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, who ruled at the beginning of the twelfth century. After 1150 we are in the period of full bloom in which flourished the greatest masters of the art. While the mediaeval literature of the langue d'oïl is in several forms vastly richer than that of the South, yet it is undeniable that for her courtly lyric she is indebted to the Provençal. The center of the Provençal influence in the north of France was the Court of Eleanor, wife of Louis VII, where one of the first French poets to compose after the manner of the poetry of the troubadours was Chrestien de Troyes. In making an estimate of the value of the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères we must remember that they were working in an untried field and that what are now common-places were then fresh and original ideas and expressions. Although love was the main theme of their poetry they often entered into social and political questions and exercised a most important influence, for the most part beneficial, on the life of their time. Their poetry being the creation of the feudal society came to an end towards the close of the thirteenth century as a result of the Albigensian war, which brought ruin to the nobility, its principal support. In the following century attempts were made to revive the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères, but in vain, yet, beyond the Pyrenees, the Rhine and the Alps, it found congenial soil, being not without an effect on the Minnesingers and giving birth to the

so-called Sicilian poetic school and to the poetic ideas of Dante and Petrarch, whom Coleridge calls "the final blossom and perfection of the troubadours."

Dr. James Field Spalding: "Emerson." April 2.

Fitness of the subject for present consideration touched upon the aim to avoid extremes of unmixed praise and narrow prejudice. The main events of Emerson's life traced, together with the growth of his opinions upon various subjects, literary, religious, philosophical, and political.

Emerson's literary method, a detriment to his style; producing polished sentences, but these often without logical connection. His self-criticism on this point. The number and range of his subjects. His thought and his way of putting it command attention. Illustrations of thought and manner.

Emerson's acknowledged place as a literary critic. His estimates not elaborate criticisms, but flashes of insight, notable for originality, independence, and discernment. His "Representative Men" and his "English Traits" analyzed.

His poetry the poetry of nature steeped in symbolism; his chosen mode for uttering "ideal truth." Though heedless of rules, he can be artistically perfect if he will. Objections of critics answered. Passages from his verse.

Emerson's philosophical views necessarily considered in any just estimate of him. Not a disciple of any system; his prevailing tone Platonic idealism. How he contrasts idealism and materialism. Degrees of idealism, God the great spiritual fact. Danger of his thinking—that of not making God distinct from His world; yet he can not strictly be claimed to teach pantheism. His intuition; his essential mysticism; belief in divine illumination, ecstasy, "the still, small voice." Illustrative passages, describing the presence of God in the soul, and the soul without God. With him, self-reliance is reliance on God. Beyond this "acquiescence," the gist of his moral philosophy is optimism; meaning that "right is done at last, or chaos would come." Good is positive, evil only negative. He owns the existence of sin, but puts away the thought of it; is not moved by it, because he will not see it.

Emerson's religion at best natural religion; its root-error the rejection of the truth of the Incarnation. Yet he disowns the remotest wish to unsettle Christian belief; he only would have men sincere in their professions.

Growing discontent of his later life with liberalism; lament for the faith and the piety of former days; evident grief and dejection in view of the free thought of the age. His last resort to fall back upon conduct. Futility of this attitude in the fact of God's fuller revelation.

Emerson's view of the Catholic religion important, as that of a leader of American thought. His hold upon many Catholic principles evident. His various opinions showing, with much misapprehension, a degree of honest appreciation and openness of mind to the truth; that he felt the soul's needs could never be met by natural religion, nor could Protestantism satisfy them.

Emerson not an ideal, in literature or in life. Yet his dignity of thought and beauty of language claim admiration; and his worth as an inspirer and an encourager is manifest. His established influence in American life and thought can not be ignored nor despised. It must be reckoned with. Under rightful authority intelligent Catholics may get great good from him; treasuring the genuine grain, and throwing the chaff to the winds.

"Newman as a Literary Man." April 4.

The world waiting for a full and worthy biography of John Henry Newman. The chief dividing points of his life stated. Why interesting and important to look upon him as a man of letters.

No strong early indications of his achieving a literary reputation. Youthful productions of little importance. From the first, giving attention to style. Some of his masters. Wider field for effort, when Fellow of Oriel. Relations with Dr. Whately. Literary quality of the Anglican sermons, with illustrative passages.

Characteristics of his writing—in nature and spirit, in style, and in thought. The spirit, predominantly religious, even in all his strictly literary work. "Occasional" nature of his writings. His feeling about this "unpleasant necessity." Admitted merits of his style—in simplicity, purity, naturalness, luminousness; its controlling charm. His method, severe correction and revision. Wide scope of his thought; powers of imagination and reasoning; his seeking to meet every difficulty. Pain in thinking out a question. His style and thought did not decline, as some have said, in his Catholic period. Tribute of R. H. Hutton, the noted Angelican critic, on this point. A few passages from the Catholic sermons.

Newman's poetry, nearly all lyrical, and deeply religious. Verse-writing, with him, a recreation. An idealist in poetical composition; his art an inspiration, and very little of an effort. His chief celebrity from "The Pillar of the Cloud." Other poems noticed. History and analysis of "The Dream of Gerontius."

Newman's stories, novels with a purpose, particularly "Loss and Gain, the Story of a Convert." Its literary merits and defects. The book how far a mirror to the writer's experience. The controversial motive to answer another story directed against the Oxford converts. Illustrations of tone and style. "Callista," of higher rank as a story, and praiseworthy for spiritual teaching, does not command admiration for its art; too dull and heavy; not vivid, not thrilling. The author not in his element; not equal to the heroic or the tragic in fiction.

History of Newman's most definitely literary production, "The Idea of a University." Its strong positions, the claim for theology in university education, and the defense of knowledge as its own end. Brief analysis of these positions. The author's skillful treatment of various topics; lighting up dry, academic themes with convincing eloquence. The book permeated by his highest and best literary quality. Illustrative passages.

His "Grammar of Assent" briefly characterized. The literary quality here as truly if not as fully as elsewhere, in felicity of style, richness of imagination, and fertility of illustration; but the subject and the treatment precluding further present consideration.

The "Apologia pro Vita Sua," Newman's literary masterpiece. The occasion, and how fully he took advantage of it, not merely to silence Kingsley, but to change the public sentiment of England. Mr. Hutton's striking testimony. Permanent religious value of the book. Its worth in literature, for style and thought. Charm of its self-portraiture; one of the few classics of the world in this regard. Further reference to varied merits.

Newman as a literary man an impressive figure. An acknowledged intellectual light and power. His spiritual influence all the stronger for his gifts of word and thought so well improved.

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UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. Conaty, spoke in Boston, May 23, before the Young Men's Congregational Club. His subject was "Religion in Ideal Manhood." He emphasized the necessity of positive religion in the formation of character. He referred to the Greek ideal of physical development and the Hebrew ideal of the spiritual, and said that the Christian, which was the union of both, was the true ideal which, in its perfection, is found in Christ. Mgr. Conaty discussed the tendency to ignore positive religion as a necessity in the work of developing manhood. Ethics, culture, moral training, as presented by the new education, are all divorced from positive Christianity, which alone gives character to the education that fits a man for life. Religion informs conscience, develops virtue, restrains vice, teaches duty and responsibility, and gives strength to manhood. The question of life cannot be answered except by religion.

Mgr. Conaty dwelt upon the increase of crime as seen in public and private life, and characterized it as intellectual vice, the logical outcome of an education which has no place for God. It is not the result of illiteracy, but of ignorance of God and the duty of life. Men should ask the reasons for such a condition, and seek for the causes. They will find that the origin of the evil is in the system of education which has recognized the demands of non-Christian and infidel, while it refuses to listen to the demands of the Christian conscience. Public education which raises the cry of sectarianism when Christianity appeals for a hearing, must soon lead to indifference and unbelief. The natural is exalted and the supernatural ignored. Commercialism rules, and only money value is recognized. God, the soul, immortality, sin, have no meaning for such an education, and as a result manhood lacks its highest and best development. Our nation needs good citizens in order that the benefits of free government may be perpetuated, but only those who are good men can be good citizens, and goodness can be known best and preserved in our lives through the religion which Christ has taught us through His Church, which He commissioned as the teacher of life. We demand religion in our education, and to us Catholics religion means the teaching of the Catholic Church.

V. Rev. Dr. Garrigan lectured at the Visitation Academy, Baltimore, May 24. His subject was: "Collegiate Education for Women."

Rev. Dr. Shahan, Professor of Church History, has an article in the *Conservative Review* for June on "The Catholicism of France." He has also been appointed on the Commission of Judges to designate the celebrated Americans whose busts shall be placed in the Temple of Fame to be erected in New York City. He lectured at Montreal, June 11, on "A Century of Catholicism."

Dr. Neill delivered, on April 10, the opening lecture in a public course on the "Evolution of Industry," given at the Central High School Building, Washington, under the auspices of the Public School Trustees and the Civic Center.

Dr. A. F. Zahm, Associate Professor of Mechanics in this University, was, in April last, appointed official delegate to the International Congress on Aeronautics which is to be held in Paris this summer. The appointment was made by Dr. J. H. Gore, Director of the Department of Organization of International Congresses.

Graduation Sunday.—Solemn High Mass was celebrated on June 2, at 9.30, by the Rector. Rev. P. J. Healy, S. T. L., of New York, acted as deacon, and Rev. M. J. McSorley, of Philadelphia, as subdeacon. The Rev. T. P. O'Keefe, of Santa Fe, was master of ceremonies. At the end of the Mass the Te Deum was sung in thanksgiving for all the blessings of the year. The sermon on the occasion was by the Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Associate Professor of Sociology and President of the Alumni Association. His subject was "The Academic Spirit."

Rev. John D. Maguire, holder of the Anna Hope Hudson Fellowship in this University, has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. He fulfilled the requirements in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. His dissertation is entitled: *De Rhetorico Genere quo in Concionibus usus est Livius*. Dr. Maguire is a priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. He received the degree of A. B. at LaSalle College, pursued the usual studies in philosophy and theology at St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, and received the degrees of S. T. B. and S. T. L. at this University.

Holy Cross College.—The Congregation of the Holy Cross, through the Provincial, Very Rev. Dr. John A. Zahm, have recently enlarged their fine property by the purchase of 6½ acres. This addition, which immediately adjoins the original grounds on the north, is somewhat more elevated than the college site, and is, for the most part, heavily wooded. It was bought from the owners, Julia M. Thayer *et al.*, for the sum of \$15,000. The College holdings now amount to twelve acres, obtained at a cost of \$31,000.

During the past few months considerable work has been done in grading, laying out walks, and planting trees. The newly purchased grounds will also be improved, and "Rosemont" will soon become one of the most attractive, as it is now the most prominent, of the college locations in the neighborhood of the University.

Since its dedication, the college building has given satisfaction in all that tended to secure the health and comfort of its occupants. A new altar has lately been placed in the chapel; several choice paintings and statues have been received. Various donations have been made by Rev. Dr. Zahm and other friends to the library, which now contains 1,500 carefully selected volumes.

Trinity College Announcements.—The announcements of Trinity College for 1900-01 have appeared in a pamphlet of 23 pages. Owing to unavoidable delays in building, the College will be open for students in November next, and not in October, as had been announced. All candidates for admission will be required, for the present at least, to take an entrance examination in the following subjects: Latin, Greek, French, German, English, History, Mathematics, Physics. It is hoped, however, that such uniformity in the academy requirements for graduation will eventually be secured as to render this examination unnecessary for applicants who present proper certificates.

The courses of study for the freshman class only are indicated. They are prescribed for all students who intend to prepare for degrees. Beginning with sophomore year, the courses will be arranged in groups, and the student will be free to elect the group which she is to pursue until graduation. The studies of the freshman year include the following subjects: Religion (3 courses), Philosophy (2), Church History (2), Greek (3), Latin (3), English (4), German (3), French (3), Mathematics (2), History (2). The courses in Religion, Philosophy and Church History extend through four years.

Special students, *i. e.*, students who desire to follow the College courses but do not intend to prepare for degrees, will be admitted after passing the entrance examination. On completing their studies, they may, with the consent of their instructors, receive certificates.

The work that Trinity College proposes to do during the first year of its existence is plainly and concisely stated in these pages. The press-work is neat and the form of the pamphlet is convenient. Its publication is a step further in the direction to which the College points in the motto: *Scientia Ancilla Fidei*.

The Association of Catholic Colleges, 1900.—For many years there has been a desire for a Conference of Catholic College representatives, but no effort was made to bring them together until last year, when the Rt. Rev.

Mgr. Conaty issued the call for the first meeting. The response was very general and the result proved that the time was ripe for an organization. That first Conference was an experiment. Until then, representatives of our different systems of colleges had never come together for consultation. They were unacquainted one with the other. In fact, within the same system, men had followed the same schedule of work, but had never exchanged views upon educational matters. One system had never been compared with another, and men were satisfied to struggle with the problems of collegiate work according to their own ideas or the traditions of their system. The first Conference brought system face to face with system, and the various systems face to face with the conditions of our collegiate life. It made teachers and leaders acquainted with one another. It opened up discussion upon the questions which were raised in educational circles, and it gave promise of practical results in the better ordering of college instruction and college discipline. It gave hope to many who thought that our colleges were not alive to present demands. It prepared an answer to the charge that our colleges are inferior to non-Catholic institutions. It made men see that success must come from an Association of Catholic Colleges which would, in annual meetings, carefully consider the program of study, the methods of teaching, the means of discipline, in a word, that would bring our colleges to an up-to-date condition, without sacrificing the essentials of a liberal education or the cherished traditions of any one of the systems under which they are conducted. The first Conference was tentative and preliminary, and resulted in a union for the study of collegiate conditions.

The second Conference, recently held, was a great step in advance of the first and reached some very definite and practical results. Its work was necessarily limited by time and subjects. It was not possible, in a two days session, to cover the whole field of college study, or to discuss the entire range of college defects. The program aimed to reach some general principles which would admit of subsequent extended discussion as to details. The important results reached are found in the instructions given to the committees, one to report a plan of entrance requirements for freshman class, and another an adjustment of the College or Preparatory School program, so as to make French and German prescribed studies. The importance of the first arises from the fact that it proposes a unity of action by which better preparation will be required from all students entering freshman class. Our colleges will thus line up with all others in a well-recognized standard. It will also prevent the danger to scholarship which arises from students passing from one college to another and "making classes." The importance of French

and German is realized to-day not only in university work, and especially in research work, but also in the professional schools, in ecclesiastical sciences, and in business. The matter of electivism was discussed in a most scholarly way, and while there seems to be no general disposition to allow the option of classical studies in a classical course as yet, there was a willingness to allow freedom among the colleges desiring to test it at least in a modified form.

The tendency towards the room system, especially for older boys, as also towards a change in methods of discipline, was quite evident, while a strong appeal from Father McHale for a more thorough instruction in religion met with universal approval. The remarkably well written paper of Father Brosnahan, while based upon a comparison of sections of the catalogues of Harvard College and Boston College, was, in fact, an answer to the charge that the courses in our colleges are inferior to those in non-Catholic ones. Father Dowling's paper on "Character Development," opened up discussions for many a future conference, and showed a disposition on the part of all to meet the demands of our age in a most liberal and fairminded way. Everyone acknowledges defects, and serious ones, but none greater than those that are found in all other systems. We have had to contend with tremendous difficulties, and we have succeeded well. Our systems have been handicapped by want of means and lack of equipment. There has been devotedness on the part of our teachers, and a spirit of self-sacrifice in our students. More is demanded now, better college equipment must be had, greater scientific training must be given for the teacher's chair, and consequently better instruction; and our colleges seem disposed to meet the demands. The Conference listened with intense interest to the Right Rev. Chairman's earnest paper on "The Plea for the Teacher," and applauded its appeal. It was recognized that it matters not what our buildings may be unless we have teachers who not only possess the knowledge men are seeking, but also the power to impart it. A splendid result of the Conference is the awakening of our collegiate instructors to the necessity of consultation with one another and of serious study upon the problems that confront them. A marked feature of the Conference was the absolute harmony that prevailed. Systems independent of one another, teachers belonging to the various religious orders as well as to the diocesan clergy, all met and discussed in a unity of spirit and oneness of purpose, which argues well for the future. It was an easy convention to preside over, and all were serious men, one in the aim and purposes of education as they were one in desire to make our Catholic colleges the best in the land. Men should not be impatient for the results; the National Educational Association took years to reach the conclusions which its committees

have reported. Our Association is in its beginning. One by one our defects will be considered, our schedule unified and improved. It is certain that the greatest good will result from the Conference, and that those who realize the difficulties in our path, will agree that a marvellous advance has been made, full of promise for the cause of Catholic education.

Gift of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.—The sisters who have charge of Holy Cross Academy in Washington, recently presented to the University a beautiful flag upon which is painted the papal coat-of-arms. It formed, with the national colors, an appropriate decoration for the stage upon which the Commencement Exercises were held.

VISIT OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

On Friday, June 1, President McKinley, accompanied by Mr. Long, Secretary of the Navy, and Private Secretary Cortelyou, visited the University. The Rector and the Vice-Rector of the University accompanied the distinguished party to the Assembly Room, in McMahon Hall, where they met the professors and students. The Rector welcomed the President in the following words:

"Mr. President: I extend to you, in the name of the Catholic University of America, a most cordial welcome on your first visit to our University halls. It is, indeed, the greatest possible honor that, laying aside the many cares of your busy official life, you have found moments to spare in which to come in upon us in this informal way and to see us at our daily work. I extend to you the welcome of the University. I need hardly tell you, Mr. President, that what you see here in the group of our buildings and in the number of our students, representing all sections of our great country, is the result of ten years of life and labor as a university. Built upon the idea of a purely graduate university, the effort is marked with great success.

"You see here a body of professors, young men and men of maturer years, whose successful studies at college have been crowned with the degrees of some of the best universities of the world. They are now devoting themselves, priests and laymen as they are, to the upbuilding of higher education in this country, along the lines of the splendid traditions of the Catholic Church and in obedience to her doctrines and scholarship. The student body represents three distinct classes in our Church life; the priest, the religious, who is one day to become a priest and teacher, and the layman, who is to enter professional life or devote himself to educational work.

"The aim and purpose of the University are fixed by the aims and purposes of the Catholic Church in education, and like the Catholic Church, with its message of knowledge to the world, it knows no race line and no color line, while its doors are open to non-Catholics who may desire to receive instruction at its hands. The qualification of our lay schools is the qualification set by brains and character, while the instruction is fixed by that science which finds its guide in the Church of which we are proud to be members. We recognize here no aristocracy but the

aristocracy of education, and we strive to build that as the source of strength in our national life.

"Mr. President, the cross which surmounts our buildings is indicative of our religious faith, and the flag which floats to the breeze beside it is indicative of our national spirit. We are Catholic, holding our authority as an institution from the pontifical constitution granted us by the Holy Father, who founded this University; and we are American, obtaining our legal existence from the statutes of this District. Under this roof minds are taught to love the cross and reverence the flag. Catholic Americans, we are taught and we teach loyalty to God as the source of loyalty to the Republic. We honor you as the Chief Executive of our Republic, chosen by the suffrages of the people to the office you so nobly fill, and our American hearts are filled with pride as we welcome you under our university roof. Mr. President, I present to you our faculties and students, and assure you of the deep appreciation that all feel for the honor you have conferred upon us."

The President said in reply :

"I cannot refrain from responding in a few words for the most gracious welcome given me on behalf of the University by the honored Rector of this institution. I am pleased to meet both the faculties and pupils of this institution of learning. I have been glad to note building after building rising on these grounds in the last half dozen years, and I extend to you my cordial congratulations. It is most agreeable to me, with all the burdens of responsibility which rest upon me in the great office which was bestowed upon me by the people, to take myself from my busy duties and receive the warm and hearty welcome of the professors and students of this University. This nation is in advance of every other nation of the world in the matter of educational advantages and opportunities. There is no excuse for any young man, no matter what may be his condition, no matter how narrow his surroundings and limited his resources, he may receive an education which will fit him for the cares and responsibilities of life. No nation in the world is in greater need of educated young men than the American nation. They are the pillars of strength to this Republic, and we needed them, it seems to me, never more than at this hour. Gentlemen, I thank you."

Secretary Long then made a brief address, and said in part: "I should feel a little embarrassed in speaking to you if it were not for my old friend, Father Conaty, whom I have met many a time in Massachusetts, in June days as lovely as these. It was my privilege, when Chief Executive of the Old Bay State, to be at the commencements of Cambridge, and then at Boston College and Holy Cross College, Worcester."

The Secretary then alluded to the remark of the Rector with regard to the aristocracy of education, and said that it was the source of national strength.

The professors and students were then presented to the President and Secretary Long, the first to be presented being Monsignor McMahon, the respected founder of McMahon Hall. After the presentation, the President and party were escorted by Monsignor Conaty and Dr. Garrigan through the different buildings, and were afterward entertained for some little time by the Rector.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES.

The exercises of the Eleventh Annual Commencement were held in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, Thursday, June 7, at 10 A. M.

His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, presided. The Rector, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty; the Vice-Rector, Rev. P. J. Garrigan, and the staff of professors and instructors, were seated on the stage. There were also present: Most Rev. Sebastian Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate; Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit; Hon. T. V. Powderly, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration; Mr. Wood, Attorney General of Alaska; Senator Maginnis of Montana; Rev. Dr. Marchetti and Rev. Dr. F. Z. Rooker of the Apostolic Delegation; the Spanish Minister, the Haitian Minister, Baron Ambrozy of the Austrian Legation, representatives of the German Embassy, and of the Chinese Legation; Mr. Gerard Lowther of the British Embassy; Gen. Thomas M. Vincent, U. S. A.; Col. Cooney, U. S. A.; Rev. J. D. Whitney, S. J., President of Georgetown University; Rev. Edward McTammany, S. J. Rev. Timothy O'Leary, S. J. and Dr. A. J. Faust, of Georgetown University; Dr. Charles C. Swisher of Columbian University; Rev. F. E. Gigot, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; V. Rev. L. M. Dumont, S. S., President of the Divinity College; Rev. H. M. Chapius, S. S.; V. Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P., President of St. Thomas College; V. Rev. J. B. Descreux, S. M., President of the Marist College; V. Rev. P. J. Francis, C. S. C., President of Holy Cross College; V. Rev. Godfrey Schilling, O. F. M., President of the College of the Holy Land; Rev. E. X. Fink, S. J., of Gonzaga College; Revs. J. F. Mackin, Eugene Hannan and J. F. Foley, of Washington, D. C.; Revs. D. C. DeWulf, Louis O'Donovan and J. C. Mallon of Baltimore.

STATEMENT BY THE RECTOR.

The Rector opened the exercises with a brief statement, in which he reviewed the work and progress of the University during the year. He spoke as follows:

It is not my purpose to make a set address, but rather to give some idea of what has been done in the University this year. What I have to say will deal mainly with facts and figures, and these are important elements in a University life. We have this year entered upon the second decade of our existence as a University, and I may be permitted to say that the prospects are the best in our history.

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During the past year it was my privilege to represent the University at a meeting in Chicago, in which fourteen of the leading Universities of the United States were represented. The main purpose was the protection of the graduate degree. The Catholic University was recognized as occupying a place in the rank of institutions doing the highest class of graduate work.

The Second Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges was held in Chicago in April last, and I had the honor of presiding over its deliberations. The purpose of this Conference is the unification of our Catholic educational system, and the improvement of our collegiate instruction. No work of greater importance has ever been undertaken in relation to Catholic education. It is to the credit of the University that these meetings were inaugurated, and it is equally to our credit that they have been carried on successfully. All the different systems of collegiate instruction have been brought face to face, serious consideration has been given to our college conditions, and enthusiastic desire has been manifested to place our colleges in the very first rank for thorough instruction and liberal education. The Conference has set to work to unify our entire system, which finds its head and guidance in the University.

In the University itself, the work has been most satisfactory. The schedule of work as found in the Year-Book has been carefully followed with admirable results in student development. During the year there has been inaugurated, independently of the regular schedule, a special course of lectures by the professors, known as a "Culture Course." It consisted of thirty lectures, carefully co-ordinated and intended not only for the student body, but for all who are interested in university instruction. Many of our professors, in addition to their class-work, with its regular demand for study and research, have found time to appear in magazine and periodical, on the lecture platform and at the meetings of scientists. To teachers from other institutions the University has gladly accorded facilities for work in its libraries, museums, and laboratories.

The attendance of students during the year has been the largest in our history. One hundred and eighty students have been registered. Of these, 10 are in the School of Technology, 47 in the School of Law, 48 in the School of Philosophy, and 75 in the School of Theology. One hundred and ten are matriculated, 12 special students, and 58 auditors. There are 70 laymen and 110 ecclesiastical students, of whom 44 are priests. At the opening of the year the beautiful College of the Fathers of the Holy Cross was dedicated, and now, side by side with it, is the splendid College of the Marist Fathers which will be ready for occupancy next September. During the summer of last year, the Monastery of the Franciscan Fathers was dedicated; and though as yet but few of its students are prepared to enter our classes, there are more than forty members of the community in preparation for university work. They, of course, do not figure in our totals. At our gates, Trinity College for women, rising in beauty of site and architecture, is destined to compare favorably with our best University buildings. While it is not a part of our University system, it has, and will have, the encouragement and good wishes of the University.

A very profitable comparison might be made of the University as it began its work ten years ago with Caldwell Hall and the Faculty of

Theology, and the University as it continues its work to-day with its added Faculties of Philosophy, Law and Technology in McMahon Hall, and the group of affiliated colleges, whose young scholastics find in the University opportunities for higher development.

The financial side of the University is a most important one. The effort to thoroughly and completely endow it is one which engages the deep attention of its friends. Having as foundations of its financial success the magnificent gifts of Miss Mary Caldwell and Monsignor McMahon, the University has grown into a financial standing which manifests itself to-day in a property value of nearly a million and a quarter of dollars and an endowment fund of over \$900,000. The indebtedness of the University is in very large part offset by valuable property, which, if disposed of, would practically remove all debt. The absolute security of the University depends on the completion of its endowment fund. We all know that until within the past year the country was in the throes of a business depression, which threatened to undermine the foundations of many institutions. The return of business prosperity brings with it a certain caution, which forces educational enterprises to be prepared for some delay in the expression of generous support. This institution will do its best work when every part of its organization shall be so endowed that the question of remuneration for the professor will depend upon the nature of the work he is prepared to do, and the question of tuition for the student upon his ability to undertake advanced studies. The University has been encouraged in its financial efforts during the year by the magnanimous action of Archbishop Keane, its first Rector. With singlemindedness and devotedness which have never been surpassed, or, I may even say, equalled, he has accepted the burden of laboring for the completion of the endowment fund, the foundation of which he so successfully laid several years before. If you would ask what our immediate needs are, I would say a library building in which to safely house our valuable collection of 40,000 books, and a Church in which to observe our religious solemnities.

The organization of the University is now a vast one, its work very complicated. The burdens of each day demand close attention from those in charge of the administration. To complete the organization, to perfect it in matters of detail, to watch and care for its improvement and development, is our present duty. Before passing from the financial outlook, I may mention that among the features of the year's work are the gift of \$50,000 by Mr. Michael Cudahy, of Chicago, a member of our Board of Trustees; the establishment of the Archbishop Williams Chair and the Archbishop Kenrick Chair, each implying a gift of \$50,000. Besides these, several individual gifts of \$5,000, and several for smaller amounts, have been received by Archbishop Keane for the general endowment. Following the example set by the Total Abstinence Union of America and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus are about to endow a Chair of American History and the Catholic Knights of America a Chair of English Literature for a similar sum. All these are grand expressions of popular feeling in a people's university, in which their leaders in Church and State are carefully trained.

It is not necessary for me to show how successfully the University has attempted to realize its ideals. In the mind of the great Pontiff who gave to it the authority of the Church in its constitutions, it was destined to be a center of educational force along the lines of higher work in every field of knowledge. It was to build itself upon the truth, as made known to us through the Church of God. It was to be a teacher of sound doctrine, thoroughly loyal to the best traditions of the Church, unflinching and unwavering in its fidelity to Catholic doctrine and steadfast in its devotion to the Holy See. It has aimed at the building up of a body of learned priests and learned laymen who, in Church and State, would be prepared to defend the interests of truth. It not only offers the opportunities for specialization, which the age demands in scholarship, but it also strives for results in such a way that the man may not be lost in the seeker after details. The University should stand for that training and for that general culture which form the gentleman and the scholar. This culture, as has recently been said, is the foundation upon which specialization must be built.

This institution prides itself upon the fact that it offers as the basis of its instruction a sound philosophy with no waverings and no vagaries. Here is taught Christian philosophy, which makes all sciences realize that they are built upon the truth, linking all sciences together as a part of one harmonious whole, showing the relations of all things with the great central truth of God. This University looks to St. Thomas of Aquinas as its instructor in sound philosophy. Through him it is associated with the best traditions of educational life in the university systems of the past. It stands on the hill-top of the highest endeavor; its doors open to all men who, with character and ability, seek knowledge. The Cross is its illumination, the Church its mother, Christian scholars its teachers, and truth its goal. Here in the Capital of the Nation it gives forth its lessons of light and life, believing that truth, which illumines the intellect, will also purify the heart. As I had occasion to say the other day, when President McKinley honored us with a visit, the Cross and the flag, as they rise above our buildings, symbolize devotion to Church and country; the Cross of Christ and the flag of the Nation's aspirations, two powerful influences in the development of scholarship and citizenship, expressing one to the other that loyalty to God is necessary for true loyalty to country. May we not say then after our ten years of existence, Well done, thou good and faithful servant! Well done, Catholic University!

CONFERRING OF DEGREES.

There followed the conferring of degrees upon duly qualified candidates, who were presented by the Deans of their respective Faculties to His Eminence, the Chancellor.

Civil Engineer (C. E.)

John Peter Murray, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Chicago, Ill. Dissertation:—"Van Buren Street Approach over By-Pass."

George Vincent Powers, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Central Park, L. I. Dissertation:—"Foundations."

Electrical Engineer (E. E.)

William Edward Kennedy, A. B., A. M. (Mt. St. Mary's College), of Waterbury, Conn. Dissertation: "A Study of the Electric Lighting Plant of the Catholic University of America."

Master of Science (M. S.)

Francis de Sales Smith, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Washington, D. C. Dissertation:—"Theory and Test of the Julius Apparatus for Preventing Vibrations of the Supports of Delicate Instruments."

Bachelor of Laws (LL. B.).

Albert Joseph Loeffler, A. B. (Holy Ghost College), of Pittsburg, Pa.
John Joseph McKone, of Hartford, Conn.

John Daniel Rogers, A. B. (Sacred Heart College), Baltimore, Md.

Master of Laws (LL. M.).

Charles Henry Goddard, A. B. (Humboldt); LL. B. (Chicago University), of Hurley, S. Dak. Dissertation: "A Comparative View of the English and American Constitutions."

John Lorenzo Love, A. B., A. M. (Oberlin); LL. B. (Catholic University of America), of Washington, D. C. Dissertation: "The Sources of the Constitution."

Master of Philosophy (Ph. M.).

Joseph Philip Gerry, A. B. (Johns Hopkins), Washington, D. C. Dissertation: "The Sonnet as an Index to English Literature."

Bachelor of Sacred Theology (S. T. B.)

John S. Capesius, Society of Mary.

Rev. Patrick Leo Crayton, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), Archdiocese of Boston.

Rev. Michael Joseph Crowley, Diocese of Detroit.

Rev. Charles James Donohoe, Diocese of Davenport.

Rev. John Edmund Fitzgerald, A. B., A. M. (Niagara University), Diocese of Albany.

Rev. Francis Frederick Formaz, A. B., A. M. (St. Francis College, Quincy, Ill.), Diocese of Alton.

Rev. Thomas Leo Healy, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), Congregation of St. Paul.

Rev. Michael Joseph McSorley, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Francis Ignatius Purtell, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Casimir Thomas Smogor, Congregation of the Holy Cross.

Rev. John Thomas Stinson, A. B. (Boston College), Archdiocese of Boston.

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S. T. L.)

Rev. Romanus Butin, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Society of Mary. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Rational Preparation for an Act of Faith."

Rev. John Henry O'Neill, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Diocese of Ogdensburg, *Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Comparative Study of the Logos-Doctrine of St. John and of Philo."

Rev. John Augustine Ryan, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Archdiocese of St. Paul. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Some Ethical Aspects of Speculation."

Rev. John Smythe, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Archdiocese of San Francisco. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Is Predestination Primarily to Grace or to Glory? A Positive Study."

Rev. William Lawrence Sullivan, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Congregation of St. Paul. *Magna Cum Laude*. "Dissertation: "Some Theoretic Implicates of Modern Philosophy."

After awarding the diplomas, the Chancellor delivered an appropriate address, in which he congratulated the University upon the successful termination of the academic year, and urged upon the students the need of showing forth by action as well as by word their devotion to truth.

PRESENTATION OF MR. BANNIGAN'S PORTRAIT.

At the close of the Commencement exercises on June 7, an excellent portrait of the late Joseph Bannigan, Esq., was presented to the University as the gift of his daughter, Mrs. James E. Sullivan, of Providence, R. I. In making the presentation the Rt. Rev. Rector paid the following tribute to Mr. Bannigan's memory :

"It is my duty to ask Your Eminence as Chancellor of the University to accept as the gift of Mrs. James E. Sullivan, of Providence, R. I., the portrait of her distinguished father, the late Joseph Bannigan, the founder of the Chair of Political Economy in this University. With grateful acknowledgment I wish to recognize the kindness which prompts this gift, and I ask that it be assigned a place among the illustrious men and women whose portraits decorate the walls of our University, to remind all who visit our halls of the generosity by which the work of Catholic higher education has been inaugurated and maintained. The name of Joseph Bannigan is sacred to the cause of charity and education. A young Irish lad of six years, he came to America in 1845. Meager opportunities were offered him for education, as at nine years of age we find him at work, soon to be apprenticed to the trade of jeweler, which he learned. His powers of observation were remarkable, and his genius for the development of new processes soon led him into the discovery of a means for vulcanizing rubber, which laid the foundation of the fortune which he accumulated. He had a marvellous power of organization and a brilliant executive ability, which were the sources of his success.

"The self-education which was the result of close observation and attention to detail, made him familiar with every part of the immense business which his genius developed. His contact with men brought out the tremendous resources of his native ability, and he was recognized not only as a prince in business methods, but also as a man of very general culture. Men wondered at his successes in every field of mercantile endeavor. Men respected his judgment and sought his advice. His name was synonymous with success. It was also synonymous with charity. Educational, charitable and religious work found in him a generous friend. No charity appealed to him in vain. It was said at the time of his death that he was publicly known to have distributed over a million dollars in charity. God alone knows how much more, for the

poor lost in him their best friend. The homes instituted and endowed by him are memorials of his great Catholic heart, which saw in the poor man a child of God and a brother of Christ. He became interested in the University, which he considered, as he told me himself, the greatest work of the Church in our generation. His endowment of the Chair of Political Economy arose from the desire to have the correct principles of the Church enter into our political life. He saw that the University was in need of books, and he began, two and a half years before his death, the endowment of the library of our lay schools. He promised \$4,000 a year until the fund would reach \$50,000. He was honored by our Holy Father, Leo XIII., and he bears on his breast the medal of the Knights of St. Gregory, which constituted him a member of the immediate body guard of His Holiness. At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University in October, 1895, Mr. Bannigan was elected a member of the Board, and he held this position until his death. He died July 28, 1898, a martyr to his devotion to business.

"We are proud of the sturdy Catholic faith which gave motive to his life and generosity. He was fearless in denouncing wrong and entirely without jealousy in his relations with others. He regarded wealth as a gift from God, to be used for the benefit of humanity, and he practiced what he believed. He was our friend, and we loved and respected him. He was our benefactor, and we honor him. His example will remain to point to his life as a model of success through business integrity. A simple faith was his blessing, and he valued his Catholicity more than his immense wealth. May his memory be ever cherished in our University as the memory of a Catholic who loved his Church, his race and his country, and used his wealth to benefit mankind."

NOTICE.

The Report of the First Annual Conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, held at Chicago, April, 1899, can be had in paper covers, for 35 cents, post-paid.

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